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George THE 6<sup>th</sup>  
Two most worthy and  
Notable HISTORIES which re-  
maine vnmained to Posterity:

(viz:)

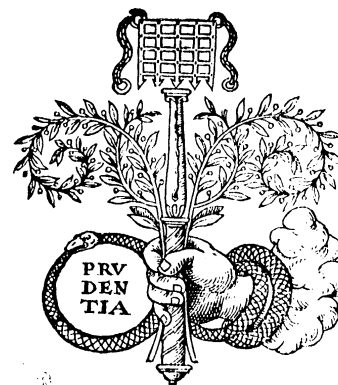
The Conspiracie of C A T E L I N E, vnder-  
taken against the gouernment of the  
Senate of R o M E,

A N D

The VVarre which Ingurth for many yeares maintained  
against the same State.

Both written by C.C. Salustius.

*Historia est testis Temporum: Lux veritatis: Magistra vitæ:  
Nuncia vetustatis.*



Printed at London for Iohn Iaggard, dwelling in Fleetstreet  
betweene the two Temple gates, at the Signe  
of the Hand and Starre, 1608.

TO THE RIGHT WORTHY  
and valorous, Sir *Thomas Summerſet*, Mai-  
ſter of the *Horſſe to the Queenes*  
moſt excellent Maieſty.

**S**IR, hauing no fitter occaſion to manifeſt my du-  
ty to your Worthineſſe (though I haue often  
wiſht matter more expreſſiue both of my loue &  
zeale) I haue aduentured rather to tempt your  
acceptance in this ſmall preſentment, worthy (no man will  
denie) in its proper Ornament, of an Honourable Patronage:  
Then by perpetuall neglect to incur the imputation of Ingrati-  
tude, a vice amongſt the Heathen puniſhable, amongſt  
Chriſtians, contemptible. Herein therefore (right Generous)  
let me in lieu of all my friends, make confeſſion of your many  
and extraordinary fauours, from time to time vouchſafed vs.  
In acknowledgment wherof, ſithence we want power to de-  
ſerue, yet giue vs leaue with thankfull overtures to remember.  
Proteſting, that if you daigne to accept of this vnpoliſht Tran-  
ſlation, partly diuulged vnder the ſhadow of your proteſtion,  
for the pleaſure of your vacant howers, but eſpecially for the  
generall good of all Engliſh Gentlemen, when, eyther Time  
or better iudgment, ſhall furniſh me with a more deſertfull  
proiect, to prostitute it ſoly to the approbation of your moſt  
iudicious cenſure. Thus far preſuming, that if it paſſe your  
allowance, I will aduenture neither to feare the diſcourteſy of  
the Cinicke, nor the ſole-conceit of the Curious. In aſſurance  
whereof, being constantly warranted by the generous carry-  
age of your Heroycall diſpoſition, I eſteeme it as rich in value  
as I account it happy in acceptance, hauing in it nothing ſo  
worthy as your fauour, wherevnto I wholie refer it.

Yours faithfully deuoted,  
*Tho. Heywood.*

Of the choise of History, by way of Preface, dedicated to the Courteous Reader, vpon occasion of the frequent Translations of these latter times.



The chiefest occasion that moued the Scythians so peremptorily to dislase Learning and Antiquities, was for that they saw the wals painted, and the Libraries of the Greekes and Romans stuffed, with the records of their owne Atchievements, but the memorable actions of other Nations, either ouer-skiped, or satyrically disgraced. For all other Nations (the Hæbrewes excepted) committed nothing to writing concerning their Fortunes. And surely (I know not vpon what grounds.) It is a general fault amongst all Martiall men; to pen nothing of their owne exploits: And those who haue somewhat inu. ed their minds to learning, for their excessive delight therein, can hardly be drawn at any time to a'ter their studies. By which peruersenesse of eithers error, those Nations which haue bin famous for their Military valour, haue viterly lost their ancient reputation, after their imbracement of Letters and Learning.

The best reasons that I can giue, are either to be grounded vpon desire of ease, or else vpon their proficiency in the precepts of Nature and Diuinity; which not only abhorre the effusion of blood, but withal depose their former infusion of Barbarisme and cruelty; as in experience wee haue seene it come to passe, first by the Greekes and Latines, and after wards by succeeding Nations. The people of Asia, were euer accounted good Orators and pen-men, but the Lacedemonians rude and rough fellows, viterly vnclearned: and yet by war and Conquest, at home and abroad, acquired worthy purchases, and had their fortunes eternized to the world; not by themselves, but by strangers: Whereas the memorable Actions, wars and Conquests of the Celts, the Germans, the Arabians and Turks, are either buried in oblivion, or at least Ballated in one sheet of paper, and that (for the most part) by their enemies. Better fortune had the Grecians in sitting forth the battell of Salamine or Marathon. For by the ample discourse thereof, a man would imagine that a more honourable piece of service was neuer achieued in any age. But as Alexander sitting in Darius his chaine of Estate, pleasantly told the Ambassadors of Greece, ageing at the danger of the present rebellion of all the Greeke Cities, that those wars seemed vnto him but as conflicts of Mice and Rats. In like sort those easie warres that Alexander managed against the effeminate Asians and Persians (to which Cito spared not to giue the epithites of Woomanish, and Caesar, Contemptible) hold no comparison with the bloudie encounters of the Celts, the Germans, the Turkes and Tartars, as may easily be gathered by those who are disposed to call to mind their overthrowe giuen and taken, and finally written by each others enemies.

Wherefore to make a iudicious coniecture of the goodnesse of Histories, wee might to remember the wise counsell of Aristotle, not onely in our choise, but also in our reading, That an Author ought not to be accepted with an ouer-weening credulity, nor reiected with peremptorie incredulity. For if we credit al, in all writers, we cannot chooe but oftentimes swallow things false, for true, and so commit grosse errors in dispatches of importance: So againe, if we should presently condemne an Historie, as of no credit, we should reape no profit, in countenailing time therein consumed. Yet let every Author leaue his owne blame, whereof if they that haue stuffed their monuments of memory with fabulous impostures, be guiltie in one sort, in no lesse fault are the Turkes, who can say nothing of their descent or Originall, neither will suffer any writing thereof to be commended to posterity; beleeeuing, that no Historiographer can write truly vpon report, much lesse will they, who were either in action, or in place ouer the action; euery man being bewitched to tell a smooth tale to his owne credit: Or suppose, he be of an vnpartial spirit, yet either the feare of great personages, or passion, or money, will preuaricate his integrity. But what should discourage succeeding Ages, that they should feare to write freely of their Equals? Surely in these times, it is not probable that among such variety of Authors, no one should be found, whose workes were not void of affection, of corruption, of enuy, of passion. Let the iudicious Reader therefore, between these extreames (of lightnesse and Critique

Bodin.

## The Epistle

sign: rashness) take the middle course so that he cut out of every good Author singular purity. Neither let him censure the worke, before he fully understand the depth and sufficiency of the Author. But indeede this should be the care of the state, to looke into the argument and method of Books before they come to the Presse, least by the vulgar censuring of some desicient labours, others of more sufficiency be disheartned from publishing their writings. For in this choise of Authors, which every student ought to propose unto himselfe, I would not have every one to be his own iudge (for censure is a gifte of art and experience) but to moderate his opinion by coherence, comparisons, & infallible reasons, which if they be not allowed by the maior partie, let him never be ashamed to change his determination. For as those which will spend their verdicts upon Pictures, their dimensions, lineaments & colours (wherein the skilfullest are often cozened and deceived) ought not to bee ignorant of Symmetry, so give true iudgement: So is it necessary for him that will distinguish betweene the sufficiency and insufficiency of Historie, not onely to bee well read in the Arts, but also much conversant in humane occurrences.

Of Writers in this kind there are three sorts, the first whereof being wel qualified by nature, but better by learning, have bin called unto Magistracie. The second sort have wanted learning, and yet proved verie sufficient by the advantage of Nature and experience: and the latter being somewhat helped by Nature, and wanting experimentall employment, have notwithstanding by their industrie and ingenuite in their collection of Historie, even equalled those who have spent the greatest portions of their daies in the Counsell-house of Princes. Of every one of these you shall find infinite variety, & so much the greater, by how much every one sauntereth of more or lesse integrity, learning and experience. The best are those which are best scene in all these, and free from passion. I adde passion, because it it boyde for an upright conscience discoursing of an euill subject, to abstaine from hard language; or on the other side, to attribute unto good actions a moderate commendation. For the inserting modestly in praise of the good, and dispraise of the wicked, hath giuen no smal occasion for the amplifying of Historie. Whereof if good Authors ought to be noted, what shall we say of Euill?

No slight consideration must therefore be taken, whether our Historiographer hath written of himselfe, or of others 39 Fellow-Citizens or Strangers; of Friends or Enemies; of Militarie discipline or Civil Government; of his Equals or Inferiours; and lastly, of his owne time, or of fore-past ages. For iudgement in this employment, Secretaries, Priuy-Counsellors, and Presidents in Courtes of Iustice are verie sufficient: (for by these three the state is ballanced) but more sufficient is he, who alone sitteth at the Helme; but most of all he, that adioyneth much reading of Law and Historie to daile experience. To the perfection whereof two things are most requisite; Bookes and Trauaile; without the former, whereof the difficult management of employment (in any kind) is hardly attained to, and the date of mans life is over short to compasse it by trauaile and wandering observation, as of olde time did Licurgus, Solon and Vlisses.

The last of whom Homer pronounced wise, For that he had scene the manners of many people, and the customes of diuers Citties. In these daies many dote upon sight of strange countries, the Natures of huine Creatures and plants, the Fabrickes of Palaces and Pyramides, with the over-worne sculptures of Ancient coines, but the misteries of publicke Government, and their alterations, they neuer regard.

Next unto Bookes of humanitie, and experiments of Trauaile, I commend insight in Lawe. For those that are to determine suits and contentions (saith Arcadius) knowe all sortes of misdemeanors; and not misdemeanors onely, but their contraries, without the indifferent apprehension whereof, the one and the other cannot be tried into and preuented. For in discerning between good and euill, consisteth the subiect of humane wisdom.

Whereupon wee are to gather, that of all sorts of Historiographers those are worst to bee liked of, which with impure handles (as the Proembe is) presume to write of History, being both unexperienced in affaires of importance, and yeteily unlearned. Of these is my chiefest Cament in choise of Historie.

The

## to the Reader.

The next to beware of, is a rayling or a passionate Writer (for you shall not find all Authors free from this humor) and him suspect of flattery, by praising himselfe, his fauourites and Country men, and bitterly wanting his opposites, or enemies. But when you meet with an Author, who giueth his enemy his due commendation, read him with trust and beleefe; and the rather, if he bee a stranger to both parties: esteeme him as iudicious persons do of Umpires in Abirements, voyd of partiality. For it is aparant that Dionisius Hallicarnassicus (a man of no eminent place in Government) wrote the History of the Romans with better faith and more uprightnesse, then Fabius, Salust, or Cato, men aduanced to wealth and honour in their Common-weales. For Polibius a Græcian in many places doth tax Fabius & Philenus of falsehood, the one a Roman the other a Carthaginian, and both writing upon the Punicke warres; the one giuing all the honour to the Romans, the other to the Carthaginians. These are the words of Polibius. Philenus avoucheth that the Carthaginians behaued themselves valiantly, and the Romans basely and cowardly. But Fabius by the censure of Polibius was a man of approued honesty, & wisdom, to whom the proiects of the Romans, nor the counterplots of the enemy were hidden, or unreuealed. Yet both Orators, like were very wary to say or do any thing to their own reputations. But let not any thinke, that in an History he can discharge both the part of an Orator & Historiographer. For I cannot allow of those writings which in praise and flattery are copious, in reprehension of vices, brieft and penurious; this mixt being most iustifiable, that euen the man of best discretion and uprightnesse, committeth manifold errors. Wherein Equinard and Acciolus haue so magnified Carolus Magnus, Eusebius Constantie, Nebrensis Edmard, Iouius Cysmo Medices, Philostratus Apollonius, Procopius Belisarius, Staphilus, and Leua, Charles the first, that herein they haue rather merited the sinames of Orators, then of Historiographers. And therefore let the iudicious Censurer suspend his iudgement not by the scale of Friends and Countrey men, but by the verdict of enemies also. Against Phillip Comines, in praising of Lewes the XI. let him oppyse Meir; and not Meir onely, but Paulus Emilius; because the one is excessive in commendings, the other is furie gone in discommending; the third in a meane, Meir teasmeth him periurians and fraticide, whose delire was about all things, without regard of the Lawes of God or man, to become sole Tyrant of the state. The same Author calleth Comines himselfe, Traitor and Fugitiue. And therefore in these alterations, I wish neither of them to be believed, because the one was highly aduanced and intruded, by the King, the other a professed enemy, and had his pen deeply dipped in gall, then was seeming for an Historiographer. Emilius was neither friend nor foe (for he was of Verona) and wrote gravely and modestly in these words. The Duke (saith he) did enuy the King, accusing him with the death of his Brother, to haue corrupted his Brothers children, and to work them to poison their Father. Hee affirmes nothing rashly, he omitted not repugnint reports. They wrote in the life of Lewes; this man an hundred yeares after, impossible at that time to bee possessed with expectancy of grace, feare, or enuy. So Tacitus did auowe the actions of Tiberius, Claudius, Caius, and Nero, reported in their life times to be full of flattery through feare, and after they were dead, as full of deceipt, and both false. And therefore it was his first prætention, that he would write them without Enuie or Flattery, as in a time of more securitie. For hee wrote an hundred yeares after their deaths, and peraduenture had read the saying of Aristotie, that New Histories were as fabulous and distastie as those of deepest Antiquity.

Surely those that will write of the present, can hardlie write truly, but they must touch the credit and reputation of some men. And therefore Cicero in his Catalogue of all the best Orators, remembre not onely those, least they which by chance or negligence were forgotten or omitted (as himselfe speaketh) should conceine displeasure. Who would then seeke for truth amongst Authors conuersing with such times, Wherein to write what a man would not, was accounted dishonest; to write what he would, dangerous.

The best course is therefore without all feare to dedicate our Papers to posterity, or if any thinke so well of his worke, that he will publish them in his life time, let his History consist of times past,

collected



## The Epistle

collected out of the best *Commentaries publicke, private, and Ancient*; As did *Lywy, Tranquillus, Tacitus, Arrian, and Dionisius Hallicarnassens*, all most approved *Authors*: and the last of most credit, because he wrote of another State, not of his owne, and sawe all mens *Commentaries*, and secrets of state by publique permission.

*Polibius.*

secrets of state by publique permission.  
In this ranke also, are Polibius, Plutarch, Metaſthenes, Ammianus, Polidor, Ctesias,  
Æmilius, Aluareſius, and Lodowick Roman.  
Of thoſe which haue nothing in the but reports, ek too aloon akroamatoon as Polibius ſpea-  
keth, and haue not ſome publique Registers, let them be of no Authority. For the better Authors to in-  
crease better beleefe, auouched their authorities from publique remembrances, as Ammianus, who  
brought to light the Originall of the Galles from their Publicke Monuments. So likewise Arri-  
anus writeth in his preface, That he read the Commentaries of King Ptholomy, an eyewitness of the  
Aſſes of Alexander, neuer before set forth. Appian had the like Fortune with the papers of Augustus.  
Metaſthenes and Ctesias with the Libraries of the Perſians. Diodorus with the Arcana of the  
Egyptians. Onasiceratus and Aristobulus the Lieutenant of Alexander avow those things  
which they sawe with their eyes in Egypt and India. Not that I dare avouch that the truth  
of History is to be sought for in the Commentaries of Kings, for they are given to speake  
largely of their owne praises, but to make use of those Observations which are little or nothing interested  
in their praise or disgrace; as the Computations of times, the largeneſſe and ſituation of  
Prouinces, the Government of Cities, the ages of Princes, their raignes and ſucces-  
ſions, and in ſpeciall, their Policies; wherein the end of reading all in all conſiſteth. For as Metaſ-  
thenes aſſureth, All men that writ of Princes are not to be beleued, but eſpecially the  
Priests, to whose fidelity and custody the publicke Annals were intrusted. Such a one  
was Berofus, who collected the raignes of the Aſſyrians out of the Annals of his predecessors. This  
Metaſthenes.

Secondly, if a History haue such and so many witnesses as cannot be contested, it hath the greater appearance of truth, yet in seeming incredulities, especially if it suffer examination and trial. For vnder would beleeue that the Roman Senate at the motion of a Clowne, who dreamed that Iupiter called vnto him in his sleepe, and would him to admonish the Senate that they should renew the plaies, because that they lead the dance in the former times had daunced falslie. The Senate affected. One man perchance in relating this triuall accident would not be beleued, but heerein Plutarch, Lyuy, Dionisius, Valerius and Pliny, do all agree; who in so uniforme a consent of the Senate and people could not relate a falsehood.

late a falsehood.

But methinks I heave one say, the latter was deceived by the error of the former; and so each after other. Surely and so it may be, not only in the History of humanity, but also of Nature: For the old world reported, that *Swan* approaching their ends, would sweetlie sing their Funerall sawewels; a tradition not only received from the times of *Echilus* by Poets and Painters, but likewise by the chieffest of the Physicopers, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Chrysippus*, *Philoftratus*, *Cicero*, and *Seneca*. And yet *Pliny*, and after him *Athenæus* report rippon proofe, that it is but a Fable, and so to this day it yet remaineth.

And yet I am not so much concerned, that I should have been not to discourse, is some experience.

But as for naturall Historie the validity thereof, whereof we meane not to discourse, is soone experimented, which in humane (for their infinite confusions) can neuer be examined. As for example; Many good Writers, and not one, or two, but almost twentie wrote that the Duke of Orleans was beheaded for Treason, and that at Paris: and yet it was appaunt, that XXX. yeares after his imprisonment in England, he returned into France, and there peaceably died. For which rashnesse my Country-man G. Bellay doth sharply reprehend those Historiographers, who will and audaciously commit to publike beliefe the flying reports of fame and the vulgar. Of this fault Strabo taxed Pofidonius, Erastofthenes & Metrodorus. They deliuered for true history (as hee saith) the reports of the most inconstant people. But Pofidonius respected the Authority of C. Pompey, so that I thinke hee could write nothing vnadvisedly.

Therefore when Authors disagree amongst themselves, I take it the safest course to believe the latest,

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*to the Reader.*

at least, if their reasons cohere necessarily, and their Arguments are strong to prove what they say. For such is the Nature and obliquity of Truth, that unless it be raked from ancient and fundamental Originals, it will hardly appear like it selfe, but best then, when the reports, the flatteries and passions of the vulgar, are buried with their bodies.

*As to Religion, because the Contraversies betwene the professions and professors thereof, are so irreconcilable, I would not attaine a man to seek out the Opinions of the Heathen amongst the Jewish Writers, nor of the Jewes amongst the Christians, nor that of the Christians amongst the Moores or Mahumetians, but to read the Authors of euerie sect and Religion by themselves so weigh the credit of the writer, and the verities of the thing written, and how they agree or disagree amongst themselves. So much (concerning this Agreement) as hath beene set forth by diuers Authors, I will rather blanch with the imputation of mistaking and ignorance in Antiquities, then with the full Title of untruth; even as the old Græcians dealt with the Romans and the Celts, and the Romaines with the Caldeans and Jewes, each one being ignorant in the Antiquities of either Nation.*

In reading the differences of an enemy, let our assertion be suspended until we have examined the worth of the writer; for an adversaries report is not rashly to be received, nor at first sight embraced; but herein let us imitate Caligula, who commanded the History of Cæsar written by Cassius and Labienus, and condemned by the Senate, to be published; saying, That it was profitable for the state, to haue the Actions of euery man, understood by all men. Yet for my part, if the testimony of the one or the other concerning Cæsar, were now extant, I would not altogether admit them to be true; nor build confidence on Cæsar himselfe, when he writeth, that the Pompeyans made no conscience of Divine and humane things, and left no Sacrilegious violence unattempted, whereas he himselfe without any fear of Religion or deity, sacked all the Temples of the Gauls, and broke up the Treasure of the Holy Sanctuary, which Pompey and his faction feared and refused to violate. But the reason that moued Cæsar to disperse these scandals on Pompey, was to make his enemy odious, that so he might pretend a iust cause of war, when to a good man no excuse can seeme reasonable to wage warre against his Country.

As concerning his Commentaries, most men receive them with approved allowance, and in general, when a General is forbidden by the Law Publica to give in to the Tribunes of the Treasury, of a false report what number of enemies he had slain. If Porcius if he failed, he was to be deprived of his Generallship, and denied his triumphall Ceremony; which rather then Caesar would give over, hee would not stick to account that lawfull which made be for his purpose, how unlawfull soever. Which law, though he had not kept immovably, yet the fear of infamy so awed his ambition, that having many enemies, he knew they would not have failed to indict him of falsehood, especially being resolved to publish his books in his own life time. An instance whereof is to be seen in Cicero his Anti-Cato, though he wrote fifth Tacitus as persons accused are accustomed to behave themselves before Judges.

This therefore that we haue spoken touching the writings of Enimius, is to be received, except in cases of corruption and transposition. Such a one was Froylard, who whether he stood more beholding to the English, or the English to him, many make question, be himselfe publicly acknowledging their Comity and munificence. Such another was Aretine, who would glorie that hee was well rewarded by those whom hee praised; yea, though he did it against his conscience: Yet thus much will I say for the more, that it is not to be doubted, but that hee wrote truly being either in action, or at least speaking the best part of his life amongst militarie men: the fault that I finde is, for that he altogether forgot the due defects of his owne Nation, which I thinke no uncorrupted passion can do. For Poësius (accounted a wise private Author) when he came to discourse of his Countrymen, could not so moderate his pen, but needs must breake out into most bitter invectiues against Philarchus, for extenuating the valour and fortitude of the Megalopolitans in their warre against Aristomachus. The same humour (it is not decreed) provoked Plutarch to write against Herodatus wherein he is very at nothing if I maye say at those things which hee wrote concerning the Boetians and Cherroneatians. But who can refrain laughter that readeth Sabellicus his comparisons of the Venetians manners with those of the Romans? Thus Donatus Gianotus, his Fellow-Citizen could not indure them.

Note the Author  
himself was a  
Frenchman.

## The Epistle

With this dislike (if it may be termed a dislike, with an honest fallacy to maintain the reputation of our Countrymen) almost all Historiographers are troubled. And therefore had I rather read Cæsar discomfiting of the manners of the Gallies, Tacitus of the Germans, Polibius of the Romans, and Ammianus of the Franks, for that they were strangers, unadvised, uncorrupted, & were well acquainted with the Originals of those things, whereof they presumed to write.

The next doubt that troubleth my mind, is whether an Historiographer, ought to praise, dispraise, & bew his opinion; Or leave all to the iudgement of his Reader. For either partie I will lay downe the best allegations I can, and so leave it to discretion.

Historie ought to be nothing but a representation of truth, and as it were a Map of mens actions, sette forth in the publicke view of all commers to bee examined; And therefore the predecanting opinion of the writer cannot but bring much discredite to the Action, in that hee presumeth to preposse the minds of Artists with imaginarie assertions, seeming to teach those, who know better then himselfe what belongeth to such affaires, to the wiser sort, who will not be deceived (for that hee cometh to Counsell before he be called) he seemeth verie suspicious.

No lesse guiltie of another fault are many Historiographers, who in the midst of their discourses, fall off from their intended Narrations, to play the Orators or Rethoricians, so deluding the expectations, & confounding the memories of their readers. Such a one was Timeus, condemned for both; and for his degradation from History to Satyrisme, vulgarly termed Iltitimaos and slanderer. For since there is nothing more difficult, then to Iudge truly, who would not be agreed to heare an Historiographer, having nothing to do in Counsell or matter of state, to brycht out his assertion of the chiefest commanders in the Republicke? Or what can be more foolish then to listen to a fellow who neuer saw field, reasoning in the victories and oversights of Generals and their Armies. Such a malepart part plaide he (I silence his name) that wrote the wars betwene Henry and Charles the Emperour, by playing the iudge on both sides. He loaded the King (or rather over-loaded with such gosse flatterie and praises, that his Maieslie could not endure to heare them but with loathing; Charles hee condemned as a most wicked and cowardlie Capitaine, omitting no words of reproach which his wit could imagine. Alas good man! Liwardlie Capitaine, omitting no words of reproach which his wit could imagine. Alas good man! He considered he, that his reproaches redounded to the discredit of his owne partaking, to whome it could not be imputed a dishonour to contend with such a Prince; more dishonourable to bee by him overthrowne: but most dishonourable to contrait affinity. Well, by this his oversight he lost the credit of an Historiographer, and was by the consent of all good men condemned for an unjust iudge.

No lesse over-seene was Iovius in his rash and odious comparisom of the lines of Selimus and Ismael the Sophi; of Charles the fifth, Pope Paule, and divers other great Princes.

Against these I oppose Xenophon, Thucidides, Tranquillus, Cæsar, Guicciardin, and Sleydan, who seldome, and that wisely, and upon occasions intermix their Opinions. Truly Cæsar, far for military discipline, being all praise-worthie, and a profound Artist in state-governement, though without reprehension he might speake his mind in warlike Controversies, and that without imputation of ignorance, yet when hee did it, it was done with discretion and modestie. For when some about him affirmed, that P. Scilla might have perfected his victory, if hee had pursued the troopes of Pompey, Cæsar made answer, That he allowed of his proceedings: For (saith he) the Office of a Generall and Lieutenant are different; the one is to manage according to Commission, the other as occasions shall importune. Again, in the battell of Pharsalia when Pompey commanded his souldiers to stand fast, and not to remoue; to receive the enemy, & not to charge: To do the like (saith Cæsar) I see not by any reason how it should stand to our advantage, because Nature hath infused into every man a certaine alacrity & courage of minde ready to quarrell: Thus a good General ought to cherish, not to pull backward. Heere Cæsar contended with Pompey not in armes only, but in counsell also.

Many are the examples which may iustifie this policy of Cæsars, as the victory of Epaminondas against the Lacedemonians, and therefore what can bee more dissastine then to beare another Phormio, who neuer saw field, to give a peremptorie censure of such Personages, and their Fortunes; or a Schoole-man to talke of the amendment of the Lawes of Lycurgus and Solon, being the wisest ma-

gistrats

## to the Reader.

gistrats that ever bore office; which when Aristotle had done, he ran into the dislike of many men for it; of Polibius sparingly, of Plutarch more freely; how indelicately I say not; but generally affirme, that to speake of things we assuredly know not, is an argument of Leuitie; Peremptorie to iudge, app. rantly dangerous. Viues the Schoolemaister of Charles blameth Comines for the same fault of leuitie, because he often digresseth from his History; then from the lines and fortunes of Princes, and lastly filleteth into discomf of an happy life, after the fashion of Philosophers.

This notwithstanding; Comines was a man that spent his whole time either in place of government, or in the wars, or in famous Embassies, and so did not Viues. So that in my fancy, if any man might censure, wisely he might. But admit his reprehension iustificable, then would I aduse an Historiographer to resolve either to determine modestly, or for altogether to hitle his peace, but that the authority of Polibius doth draw me to a contrary opinion. For the reason wherefore he blameth Philarchus, was for that he Silenced due debates; yea, and affirmeth the chiefest use of Annals to be, to inflame the good to progression by the example of their likes, and to deter the wicked by dislike of former courses. Which reason both Tacitus and Procopius allow of, besides that many graue Authors at end of their discourses have used the president; amongst the number, Agathias (I would to me) doth compare a bare Relation, to an old-wives tale; but his authority doth not weigh with me, that thereby I can be induced to censure; especially since by the most graue censure of Cicero Cæsar who went beyond all other Historiographers in this kind of commendation, That his History was naked, simple, & true, & without all Ornament of Art laid open to every mans censure. Of like nature is the history of Xenophon, which he annexed to Thucidides, wherein he interluceth no Opinion of his own; make: h no digression, neither vseth any Ornament of Oration. And to their opinions, that suppose the praises of vertue, & the display of vices to be the fruit of History, I answer, that it may more truly and properly bee handled by Philosophers (to whose element it pertaineth) then by Historiographers. He disgraced Nero sufficiently, that penned his butchering of most honourable persons, His schoolemaister, his two wiues, his Brother Britannicus, & finally his mother. All these, without further addit on of words, Tranquillus writeth purely and plainly: But Appian after he hath shewed howe Methridates slew his Mother, his brother, his three young sons, and so many daughters; addeth, A man bloody and mercilesse against all sorts of people. Heerein he no lesse detracted from the credit of his former discourse, then Iovius, who for his long Oration, bitt: r and full of despyght, against the Tyrannies of Selimus Prince of the Turkes, seemeth unto me to haue luid upon his credit a perpetual disgrace, for that it had been sufficient to haue simply related the murder of three Bassacs, of great integrity and true alliance, tw. Brethren, siue Nephewes, and his aged Father; & not after the manner of Orators (verie improper for an Historiographer) to run out into impertinent discourses, which peradventure the Reader may construe to be full of suspicious. And this under correction of those who thinke nothing more unprofitable, then a bare Relation: for my part I dislike not censures upon great Potentates and their fortunes, so the censurers be men of iudgment & sufficiency. For discouering of City government Dionisus Halicarnassens, Plutarch, Liuy, Zonaras, Dio and Appian are commended. For the Art military, Cæsar, Patereculus, Ammianus, Frossard, Hircius, Bellay: For both Xenophon, Polibius, Thucidides, Tacitus, Comines, & Guicciardin: For policies and Counsell, Tranquillus, Lampridius, Spartianus, Sleydan & Machiavel. For manners of people & description of Countries, Diodorus, Mela, Strabo, Leo Afric, Bæmus Aluaresius: For religion, Philo, Iosippus, Eusebius, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, Nicephorus, Calistus, Orosius, Sidonius, Gregorius Turonensis, Abasurpergenis, Gulielmus Bishop of Turin, Antonius Florentinus, and the writers of the Magdeburg Historie.

But wisely shake the Ancients, Ne furor ultra crepidam, in which sense I would not haue a Polibius to discourse of Religion, Nor a Eusebius of the Art military. Thus much in general of the duty of Historiographers, now of the choise of the best of these: for to hope for better were madnesse to wish it, vanity. And as for those who Poetize unto themselves the Idea of an absolute Historiographer: such a one as neuer hath bin, nor euer wil be, I say they might haue spent their times

and

## The Epistle

and studies to better purpose. For who maketh question, but that an Historiographer ought to be a man of gravity, integrity, severity, of good intelligence, eloquent, and fully instructed into the offices of publique and private Government; I thinke none but fools will fall in love with an History, which hath nothing in it save do, went words, fained Orations, & merry digressions; & crilly supposing, that he that writeth but to please the care, cannot but neglect the truth, whereof Thucydides, Plutarch and Diodorus accuse Herodotus; and yet Cicero (to me a wonder) tearmeth him the Parent of History, who all Antiquity accuseth of falsity. And therefore let him be as we find him, whom all Authors so unanimously condemn, but not vitally reject. For besides his eloquent stile, and the sweet dialect of the Ionique phrase, we shall find in him many remembrances of Antiquity: and to speake freely, in his latter bookes divers things most truly reported.

Thucydides

Therefore not to be deceived in our choice, let those be embraced, who are by all allowed, especially in those times wherein they lived, and were Actors in the affaires. Of which ranke in my judgement are Thucydides, Salust, Xenophon, Comines, Guicciardin, Caesar, and Sleydan. Neither is it materiall that the Athenians accused Thucydides, of affectionate partiality towards the Lacedemonians: for heereby being an Athenian and not a Lacedemonian, they added to his credit. And besides, the man had bin employed in divers Embassies & commands in the Peloponnesian war; was rich, nobly descended, had to do in all affaires of state, maintained intelligencers, and lastly wrote of their actions, who then lived, and that in a free state: who would call such an Author, or such an Historie, into question. Neither did his favour towards the Lacedemonians so drowne the remembrance of his owne Countrymen, but that he gave them their due praises. And although he were by the cast into banishment, when he wrote his History, yet he not onely cleared his owne adversarie and exalteth Pericles from publicke obloquy, but being dead thought him so praise-worthy for his pollicke government, that he doubted not to prophesie, but that with his death the state would fall into a present declination: yet Diodorus liketh not secretly to censure at the method of his Orations, as doth Trogius Pompeius (witness Iustine) against Lyuy & Salust: saying, That they exceeded the bounds of History, by inserting their direct and indirect Orations. For (as Cicero saith) nothing can be more pleasing in History then simple and significant brevity.

But if we should go about to extract from Lyuy all his Orations, we should leave him but smal fragments; which reason, Caligula pretended for defacing his portraiture, and removing his writings out of all Libraries; which in truth to me seemeth in some sort tollerable, for that he himselfe protesteth in his owne and fortifieth booke, that hee determined to write nothing but the Romaine Historie.

Salust.

Of Salust we can define nothing, because all his workes are almost lost: by those which remaine, wee cannot denie, but that he was a most sincere Author, and deepe Statist. For he took pains to traivelle into Affricke to be truly informed of his Bellum Iugurthinum. And since he wrote freely: for what could be more freely spoken, then to censure the man sold sufficiency of the whole Roman people then living, to consist in one onely Caesar and Cato? So Thucydides attributed to Pericles his true and most deserved commendations: So did Sleydan his, to King Francis; to the Duke of Saxony, his; to Belay, and Alasco, theirs, rejecting all odious comparisons. But if an Author will neede descend into a bitter staine, then let him prove his assertions with pertinent Arguments; for otherwise the world will grow into suspicion that he hath written but upon heave-say. Which censure Guicciardin, Plutarch, Machiavel, and Tacitus, have followed, whereby they have most clearely laid open the secretest projects and policies of divers Princes. As for Sleydan hee was King Francis his interpreter, and often employed in Embassies by his Commanders: lib. and being a Divine his chief scope was to write of Religion, the controversies whereof as likewise the Orations (direct and indirect) hee included in as briefe a method as possible to be content: which to many men seeme tedious; but to a spirit desirous to read antiquities, and to be acquainted with the secrets of importance, nothing should be so taken. For in our Authors Annals, & Histories, & in the sayd, & Carter you shall find a masse of leuitie, but withall many things of great importance.

Sleydan

## to the Reader.

case to be rectified; which you shall not find in Emilius, who freely confesseth that he hath written the overpassed those things, which other men have written. Of the same mold are the histories of Leo Afer, Aluarafius, M. Gazus, which speake to all accidents, weighty, indifferent, triviall; they write to satiate the itching eares of the curious. But this shall you seldom finde amongst the Greeke or Latine writers, who onely proposed to discourse of the actions of warre or peace, unless some memorable accident intervened; as with Liue, The burning of the Capitoll in the sociall warre; with Tacitus, That furious fire which consumed twelve wards of the City.

As for Prodiges, not the basest, but even the most famous writers have noted them, though statie incredible; as Caesar himselfe; That in the civil warre, the statue did sweat at Treley: a man otherwise neither fearing God, nor much regarding honesty. Herein Liue most religiously (I had rather say superstitiously) exceeded all others. For ye shall read of nothing so frequent, as how Oxen spoke, Vines burnt, Statues sweated, Stars fell from heauen; how God appeared to Hanniball: that a childe of six moneths olde, proclaimed a Triumph, and such like. These writers, Polibius reamed Tragedies, & not improperly: because they could not fetch Anniball out of Purgatory, they would bring downe the Gods on the stage by deuises. But Polibius was an Atheist, and wrote verie unbecomingly of religion; the others are more charitably to be censured. For it were better to be superstitious, then irreligious, and more tollerable to adore some God, then to acknowledge no deitie.

In other mens praises Liue is also somewhat too prolix; for when he preferreth P. Sempronius before all others his Fellow-Citizens (wherein he offeth an apparant wrong to the residue) he reporteth him To have all the perfections that Nature or Fortune could possibly bestow vpon Humanity. Nor here ending, he proceedeth to amplify particulars, as his descent, his wealth, his eloquence, his complexion, his age, his Noble spirit, and militarie knowledge. Next him, hee cleaueth Furius Camillus to the Heavens; Africanus higher; so that I seeme man hath cause to wonder, why Augustus gaue him the Epithite of Pompeianus, seeing he was excessive even above excess in the praises of that Man. But in reprehension he was modest and grave; as in the contention between Marcus Liuius and C. Claudius for the consorship, wherein he one most spitefully inuicid against the other; It is an vnseemely contention (saith he) where both parties depart the place with equal shipwracke of reputation. And in another place speaking of the ancient renouance of the Plebeians towards the Patricij: That modesty and carriage (saith he) which you shall now see in one, was in those times common to the Vniuersall multitude. The like modesty he useth of Calpurnius Complanus: What! shall I tearme him wicked? No, but a Reprobate in the highest degree, who maketh choise to Tyrannize, rather by his owne fall, then to behold the prosperity of his country.

This Author is not onely of one vaine through his whole worke, but euery like himselfe, of an understanding capacity, grave, spare in commendings, bitter in reprehension, and like a pollicke Law-maker and good Commander wrote worthily of Military and civil government, with the Office of an Historiographer. His histories intrea: almost of all Nations which were of any reputation in his time, or somewhat before, (viz) from the CXXXIII. Olimpiad: that is, from the worlds Creation 3680. to the year three thousand seauen hundred, sixtie six, but of fortie Bookes which he wrote, some and thirtie are lost. And as he was an excellent Historiographer, so was hee a verie good Physosopher: for in the treatise of peace with the Carthaginians, he forewarneth the Princes and Gouernors of the state, to enter into speciall considerations, whether those with whom they were to confederate, were compelled thereto by necessity, or with desire of alliance. His first Booke aboundeth with the like observations, wherein he discouerseth at large of the civil and militarie policie of the Romans. For the Topography of countries and place: none of the Antients came neerer him. The blind ignorance of times and former Historiographers, who put many fabulous Narrations vpon the Romans, he often reprehendeth: as this one most blamefull out of T. Liuius and Appian, who report, That Camillus defeated the Legions of the Galles, with such an Vniuersall slaughter, that no one was left aliue, to make report of the taking of the City.

Of the like error laboured Iustine, and his Scholiasts, in their vnrue suggestion, That

## The Epistle

That Brennus hauing wasted Italy, led his Army into Greece, where it vtterly perished by lightning from Heauen, for sacking the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, whereas Polibius proueth by forceable arguments, and conclusions of necessity, That after the forsaide army had burned the City, they trauelled as farre as Hellespont, where being allured by the scituation of the Countrey, they seated themselves about Bizantium, and ouerthrowing the Thracians, possessed the Monarchy vntill the times of Constantine. Which can be no strange matter, considering that not long ago they tooke Bizantium with their Capitaine Baldwin, and for a long time gouerned the Empire of the Græcians.

In my daies Iouius imitated Polibius as concerning the Generall Historie of his time, saue heerein is the difference, that Polibius was either an Actor or Commander, or had the perusal of the publicke records: Iouius reported many things vpon heare-say, and at aduenture. Polibius was trained in the military discipline and offices of state, Iouius in neither. Polibius was a Noble man in his Countrey, Iouius a Plebeian: Polibius a Generall, Iouius a Physician. The one resorteth, that hee had trauelled thorough the greatest part of Europe, the Coast of Africke, and Asia the lesse, to learne the customes of those different people. And to his own glorie: That he sate in the Vatican scauen and thirty yeares, was of Counsell to Scipio African, and his continuall associate in warre: Whereas the other, altogether kept company with Bishops: And being asked why he coyned false reports, and smothered true? he answered, For my friends sakes: saying, That if those that be now aliue will not beleue me, I am sure, those that come after, will afford mee, and my fauourites, expected commendations. Corneus of Paris hath dedicated this censure to Eternity: That the rales of Amadis are as true and probable, as the writings of Iouius: Had hee fabled for the good of the state (which Xenophon and Plato do tollerate in Magistrates) it had bin passable: but by lying to flatter, is vnseemly for all sorts, but most vile in an Historiographer. For as Bellarius the Cardinall when hee saw verie many whose lines were questionable, canonized at Rome through blind deuotion, saide; hee doubted whether all were true which was related of the ancient Saints: so fabulous Historiographers are often an occasiō, that those of desart are called into suspition.

If he would haue imitated Polibius, he should haue bin mindfull of his owne position set down in the Preface of his Histories: That he that swarveth from the truth of his proiect, pulleth out the eye of a most beautifull creature. How well he observed this admonition, we wil not make triall, by him, who tearmed him an Author of Tales, neither by Sleydan, nor Brutus Venerus (who often blame him for vntruths) because the one was of contrarie religion, the other per-aduenture excepted vnto for imputation of Tyranny, but by Guicciardine the Parent of History and an Author without all exception. Whose relations if you please to compare with those of Iouius, you shall find them to agree as square proportions do with round, especialy in their Orations, Epistles, Treaties, and Compositions: all which Iouius mouldeth out of his owne traine, but with such confusion of method, that euen by the censure of Alciat (his only Trumpet) the vnskillfullest souldiers haue turned their tongues to Scholasticall declamations against him. I will ouerpasse the fond authoritat of Charles the Emperour vnto him, Expediret, inquit I. u. calarnes oportet &c. As also His conference and Complaints with Iouius, which vnto my apprehension seeme as true, as that Mulcasses should slay about two hundred Lyons; six hundred thousand of small Cattle to be pillaged out of the Territory of Brixium. and two hundred thousand of the greater sort to be driuen cut of France, according to his report. The like he setteth downe concerning the Empires of the Persians, the Abessines, and the Turkes, which whither they were true or false he could neuer understand vpon rumors & reports; and as for the Counsels of Princes, their speeches, their Letters, their instructions, or publick monuments, he neuer saw them, and yet nota withstanding he presumeth to write as confidently, as if he had bin interested in the iustness.

Whereupon it is not to be doubted, but what hee might haue writt truly, hee would not; as the affaires of Italy; what he would, he could not, as the estates of forraigne Princes. Neuertheless hee protesteth that if he were compared with any of the Writers of his owne time, hee could

## to the Reader.

not but take it vnkindly, which rash protestation (in my fancie) he broched by the president of Arrianus, who thought himselfe by so much superiour to any Historiographer whatsoever, that writ the life of Alexander, by how much Alexander excelled all other Emperours. Surely this Arrianus was a man learned & wise, as appeareth by his Commentaries vpon Epictetus; and moreover ioyned experience to his reading, insomuch that Adrian Augustus for his singular sufficiency, preferred him to the Consulship, hauing run through all other inferiour offices, yea euen in the integrity of the state. I will silence his eloquence and Attique phrase, which was so pure, that he was called a second Xenophon. Indeed if Iouius were in any title to be compared to Arrian, then had hee cause to take it in euill part to be matched with others; which by his fauour I meane to do it, not for that I will affirme that those things which he wrote were vntrue and barren, but that for euer he shall carrie this care-marke of falsehood, that where euer he writeth truly, he shall be accounted but a suspected Author; yea, with this one note, more satyricall, and of far greater malignity, That by prostituting his Labors to sale, his lies yielded him better profit, then other men could gaine by speaking of the truth. And so I will leave him, and returne to the Ancients, whom I will compare with our Moderne, and betwene themselves, as the lot falleth.

The first man I meet withall is Dionisius Halicarnassensis, who besides his modest meth. d of speech and his Attique dialect, wrote the Antiquities of the Romans from the Original of their Cities, foundation with such integrity, as no Græcian or Latine hath at any time done the like. For whereas the Latines neglected things triuiall, as Sacrifices, Playes, Triumphs, Ensignes of Magistracies, the generall gouernment of the state, Subsidies, Anguies, Parliaments, and the difficile diuision of the people into wards and Tribes; Lastly, the potencie of the Senat, the priuiledges of the Commons, the Authoritie of Magistrates, and the power of the people, he in my iudgement hath best performed them of anie man liuing. And to make them the more easie to be vnderstood, hee hath compared the customes of the Greeks with the Lawes of the Latines, deriuing the priuiledges of Ciyents which Romulus instituted (and which Cæsar noteth to be common amongst the Gals) from the Athenians and Thessalians; The Roman Dictator to be of equall power to the Haumolte of the Lacedemonians, to the Archon of the Thessalians and the Elysmnet of the Mytilens; yea, had it not bin for this mans labours, the Lawes of Romulus, Numa and Seruius, together with the Original descent of the Romans, had bin long since buried in forgetfulness, through the pride of the Romans, who accounted & omitted these remembrances as base & vnlawful (as saide almost common with all Authors) as if they were as well knowne to strangers, as to Natives.

The like diligence almost vsed Plutarch in his Roman Antiquities; what censure is to be giuen of him, I thinke euery man knoweth. For seeing he was the Schoole-maister of that excellent Prince Traian, an ancient Countrey, and at last Conqueror of Istitia, there is no question to be made, but he ioyned practise and experience to his great wisdom. Hee wrote the Historie of the two most famous people of the world, not methodically and in order, but abruptly, and by way of Comparison. All that I admire in him is his so free opinion in all matters, that to me he seemeth rather a censurer of Princes, then an Historiographer; yet with this submission to his worth, that if any man may be thought a fit Vnpire in business of such weight, I hold him to be Plutarch, or no man. For what could be vnknowne to a man of so high a reach, so deepe a iudgement? Which are verie remarquable in his most graue disputations of a Republicke, and his profound Philosophie. The Original occasions of wars, their opening, their progressions, ouerthrowes, and victories, he handleth like an excellent Commander. And sometimes he descendeth to matters of meanest moment, euen of household affaires; as is that remembrance of Cato the Censor, who of purpose set enmitie betwene his seruants, Least by their ouermuch licentiousness, they should busie their braines about proiects of farre worse consequence. The like he remembreth of Pericles, who accustomed to sell to the vtmost aduantage the reuenues of his domaines, and to buy by the penny his daily prouision. Oftentimes hee relateth things incredible and meerey fabulous, but he useth the worde Phasi, to forewarne rash beleefe. As in the life of Licurgus, he writeth, That a Lacedemonian Lad suffered the Rack euen to death, rather then he would reueale the theft of a Fox: And that Agefilaus was amerced by the Ephori for populer dependancy.

Arrianus

Dionisius

Plutarch

*The Epistle*

*Thus he sometimes committed an over-sight in the Antiquity of the Romans, for that, being a Grecian, and not perfectly understanding the Latine tongue, (as himselfe confesseth in the life of Demosthenes) he is to be borne withall. As where he writeth, that in Iudgements Gracchus by the Law Sempronius equalled the Gentlemen with the Senators, when as by the same Law that privilege was taken from the Senate, and absolutely transferred to the Gentlemen; as Velleius, Appian, Alconius, Tacitus and Florus testifie: It is apparent that he mistook Legem Iuliam pro Semproniam, and Gracchus for Drusus. The like fault he committed in watering the Drachma with the Roman Denarius, and the Mina with Libra in the lives of Fabius and Anthony, which Budeus following, soonely slipped into error; As hee could not choose, the quotation being false. &c.*

*Dio*

being false, &c.

For Dio who can make question of his excellency and sufficiency, being a man that spent his whole time in affairs of the State, and running through all the degrees of Office, was twice chosen Consul, and after that Proconsull, wherein he governed the Provinces warbly, & no doubt gained experience to his great learning. He it was, that collected the order of their Dynasties, their Magistracies, the course of their proceeding in Law, the inauguration of their Princes, and the policies of their State. Yet seemeth he to strive of purpose, to maintain the factions of Caesar and Anthony, against Pompey and Cicero. And those prodigies which happened in the borders of the Marcontra, he is attributeth to Arnulphus the Egyptian, & not to the Christians; whereat Tullian, Eunibiensius, Orosius, Iustine, Paulus Diaconus, and Marcus Aurelius himselfe contested, in his letters to the Senat.

Many are of opinion that Diodorus was matchable unto him; many, that he deservedeth precedencie; for my part I see no such reason, either for phrase (the which nothing could be proued more vulgar) or for method of History. That whereof he meaneth to relate, he disposeth of truly, orderly and briefly, in the beginning of every booke: The proof whereof you may find in his first booke, wherein he divideth his whole worke into fortie Bookes, and in six, includeth all the former time before the Trojan warre; The eleven following beginning at the Trojan warre, and with the death of Alexander; the last four and twenty, descend to the wars of the Gals. The which computation amounteth to about one thousand one hundred and thirty yeares, besides the reports before the Trojan warre, which the Ancients deemed fabulous. From whence, to the return of the Heraclides (according to the account of Apollodorus) he numbreyth XC. yeares: from thence to the first Olimpiad CCCXXV. III. from the first Olimpiad, to the war of the Gals DCCXXX. Likewise, he only of all the Ancients, addeth unto his history the times wherein the most eminent Philosophers, Poets, and Historiographers flourished. As in his fourteenth Booke, he winneth, that Ctesias began his history at Ninus, Lytiades being Archon. He also collected together six bookes of this Author concerning the Empire of the Assyrians, and as many of the Persians, for the most part generally descending from Herodotus. Whose Authority, Plutarch, Pausanias, Athenæus, and almost all the rest of the follow to us is nothing remaining but an Epitome.

## Thucydides

*Theophrastus*

all the Greeke Authors do also follow. To vs is nothing remaining but an Epitome.  
Thucydides (he saith) began his history (Charites being Archon, Q. Furius, and M. Papirius Consuls, (viz:) from the restoring of the Heraclidae to the taking of Perinthus.  
Theopompus began at the first year of Phillip King of Macedon, Calimedes being Archō,  
in the hundred & fine Olimpiad (C. Genutius & L. Aemilius being Consuls. And for that which  
Diodorus reprehendeth in Theopomp, for the same may another reprehend Diodore. Of eight  
and fiftie Bookes (saith he) five are superfluous; So saith Viues, of forty of Diodors, we haue scarce  
twelue remaining, five whereof are stuffed with such idle matter, That nothing was euer written  
more fabulous. And whereas he protesteth, to write an vniuersall Historie, he onely discour-  
seth of the Greekes; and that with such prolixity (but both forgetting his Laconique brevitate,  
and his obiectum of tediousnesse against Thucydides) he pendeth more Paper in recting the Ora-  
tion of one Gillippus a Lacedemonian, than in the whole history of the warres managed through  
Italy in three hundred yeares. His long digression vpon the Pestilence at Athens, and the coniec-  
tures thereof, who can indure? His exposition vpon the Lunary yeare is as absurd, whereby men  
were accounted to haue lived one thousand and two hundred yeares, as though euen in those Ages  
many of the Patriarchs did not exceed that limitation.

*to the Reader.*

*He avoweth, that he spent thirty yeares in travell, and writing his Historie: which if it bee true, then can I not but marvell why he wrote the affaires of Italy, the next adjoining Country so slenderly, considering he lived in the times of the Romans highest prosperity (viz: ) in Cæſars Dictator-ſhip. For if you compare him to Luyſ or Dionifius, you ſhall find them varying almoſt in all places, but eſpecially in their computation of their Fatti and Olimpiads, wherein hee is moſt inckeane. Which peradventure might be occaſioned through his defect in the Latine tongue, apparently manifeſt in writing every where Phourios for Furius, as if the Orthographe had bin alone. And as for writing Ancus Horatius for Marcus, Sp. Manius for Melius, Laetuca for Luctatius, Trigeminius for Tricoſius, I could have imputed the error to the miſtaking of the Printer, were not they *Persons of Conſular rank, Decemvirs and Tribunes, in the Catalogue of whom he ſometime over-leapeth three, ſometimes four, &c.**

But these mistakings are easily helped by the studious labours of Charles Sigonius, and Onuphrius Panuinius, both worthily deserving the Epithites of learning for their exquisite searches of the Roman Antiquities.

Wherein Cornelius Tacitus hath likewise plaid the part of a lesse commendable an Author. For although he wrote the rest but of one Age, (viz:) from Tiberius to Nerva, yet omitted he neither things of weight, indifferent, or of meanest consequence. In his fourth booke, though he protested to write neither of battails, nor of taking of Cities, nor overthrowes of Armies, nor the contentions betwene the people and the Nobility: concluding it to be a worke though he inglorious, yet profitable. And by and by after (saith) we will annex cruell edicts, daily arraignmentes, hypocritical friendshippes, destruction of innocents, and the causes of these misfortunes. The description hee most fully, all the warres which happened in these times, wherein he was either a Commander or Actor. After the battaile of Actium no man penned the Art of Warre and pleading, in a larger method then he. For he spent the greatest part of his time in military Services, and employments of the Court, and being chosen Proconsull, he obtained the lower Germany: at which time he so perfectly and truly set downe the manners, Lawes and Customes of that Nation, that at this day the Germans do attribute their Antiquities to one onely Tacitus. And to say greater glory, that Tacitus Augustus, his first and excellent wisdome was created Emperour by the vniuersal consent of the Lords and the Legion, desired his descent from this our Author, and filld all Libraries with as many of his workes as were remaining unpreserved. In method of discourse he is marvellous short, sententious, and full of wisdome: as appeareth for a test by the few ensuing sentences.

*What could be pronounced with more bountie and more bitterness, then to say of Seinius? That no man could stand in his good grace, unless hee made his way thereto by villanie. What of Poppa? That shee put no difference betweene married men and Adulterers, but theye fed her fancy, where shee saw most profit arising. The Black Masse, the incontinencie & drunkennes of Vitellius, hee was against most bitter, but in such drinking could be spoke bitter inough against such a person; who besides the manifold impietie of his nature, persecuted the Lords to dissimulatione Lawe of intellect, and Married the Vncle to his Sisters daughter. One day was he amongst the dead bodies of Hungred Citizens, when he saw euery man to loath that intollerable stench: Ob! saith he, The dead enemy fauoureth sweete, but the Citizen sweeter.*

*If you will have his opinion of Lawes and Government, what could be more graciously spoken, then to say, That every great Magistrate ought to be acquainted with somewhat that was euill, thereof to make vse to the common good. Plato differed not much from this assertion; They may as well go about to cut off all Hydraes heads (saith he) as to take away all Imperfections from Lawes.*

*If you desire to looke into the method of pleading, the Office of a Senator, or the Antiquities, not of the Romans only, but of many other Nations, you shall no where find so plentifull a Harvest. What should I say? Onely this, that for men of eminency, Magistrates and Iudges, no Historiographer, can be read with like profit.*



## The Epistle

And therefore it grieved me, that some few have censured him with reprehension, whom I would not stand to refuse, were not their Authorities of good credit. As Alciat, who was so unadvised as to call his truly praise-worthy History, Thorny, or over-grown with Byrns, in that Epistle which he wrote to Iouius.

The next are those, who cannot resist him for his hard phrase, but they are such, who had rather be always plodding upon ease and trifling studies, then erect their spirits to be perfect in those grave relations, which states-men and Princes have acted, to future profit and example. As for Alciat, I see not, why he should condemn an Author so generally allowed, and himselfe notwithstanding boast of his owne eloquence, vntil he for that Decius blotting his name out of the Roll of the Lawyers, notwithstanding called him Ceceronian; as Ierom writeth, that he was scourged before the Tribunal of Christ, for that he wrote like a Ciceronian, not like a Christian. However Ierom did suffer, since I am Tacitus doth suffer his hard censure without desert. But let this passe for a iest, Budæus with no lesse bitterness, tearmeth him of all writers the wickedest, because he wrote oppositely against the Christians, which was the reason indeed (as I think) that moued Tertullian to call him Lier; Orosius Flatterer.

But as Marcellus answered the younger Cato, that a light woman did euer enill in doing light, but not enill in taking her hire being once lecher: So Tacitus, in that he was not a Christian, did euill; but wrote not euilly against Christians, being (as he was) an Heathen. I for my part should haue censured him wicked, if whatsoeuer Religion he adored, he had not laboured to maintaine it with the overthrow of the opposite; especially when he saw the Christians and Iewes, as Sorcerers and men defamed for Adulteries and other heynous crimes daily drawne to execution; what Historiographer could haue moderated his pen?

For ignorance, if any Author may be excused, then surely may Tacitus, for fetching Iudæos, from Ida a Mountain in Crete, Quasi Idaos; as well as Nicholaus Damascenus for drawing Hierosolyma quasi Ierosoula, pera for Iera silein. Well, if he desired so beaute a censure for this fault, what shall we determine of Vlpian, who wrote seauen Bookes De torquendis Christianis, and those not to teach knowledge, but to deuise exquisite torments.

Tranquillus must likewise vndergo the very same censure, where he discourseth of the Christians, and yet hath it in his good hap for the residue of his Historie to carrie this report amongst the iudicials. That neuer was any thing better written by any Historiographer. Some men are disposed for his recital of base and triuiall matters; but such should remember, that amongst the actions and speeches of Princes, nothing ought to seeme light, nothing unworthie observation, because they lye in the eye of the multitude, and according to their presidents the world will be conformable. That he took too much paines in particularly penning the incontinencies of Princes, which Tacitus omitted, I will not excuse him.

But in this over-sight Lampridius did excell him. For he relateth so many befall sorts of pleasures deuised by Heliogabalus, and those in such open termes, that he seemeth to haue penned the rather for Imitation, then Narration. Both of them serued in the priuy Councils of Princes, but especially Tranquillus, who was Secretarie to Adrian, and deprived thereof, for being more familiar with the Emperors wife, then the custome of Court-like modestie could endure. The residue that wrote the lues of the succeeding Emperors, as Dio, Spartianus, Capitolinus, Herodianus, Trebellius, Vopiscus, Entropius, Lampridius, Volcatius, Ammianus, Pomponius Letus, Orosius and Sextus Aurelius, were not so highly employed in the state, as was Lampridius, which Vopiscus doth freely confesse, calling him a most refined Author, and truly. For these are his words: Hee was a man neither proude of his place, nor guen to vice, nor fwayed by passion.

He writeth, that Caligula in the beginning of his reigne was as compleat a Prince, both for giftes of minde and bodye, as none more compleat, but afterward proued so viciat a licentia in all sortes of vices, that no monster in Nature could be comparable vnto him, so likewise he relateth the excellent

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lent first sixe yeares of Nero; and then discourseth, how Claudius was of so blockish a spirit, that euen the wisest at the Barre would call him Foole, sitting upon the seat of iudgement: and lastlie, amply setteth that notable Iudgement of the Emperour, before whom a woman being brought, which would not acknowledge her owne child, with Arguments enforced on both sides so strong and doubtfull, that hardly any man could tell what to determine; by commanding the woman to marrie the young man, she confessed the truth. What could haue bin more wisely decided by Salomon himselfe, the Master of wisdom?

The like industry for truth was not in Herodian, though he had the meanes, but for that which he wrote, he is often noted of error by Spartianus and Capitolinus.

Moreover, in Tranquillus you shall find many good instructions of the Roman Antiquities, their ancient customes, their Lawes, their Statutes, and such Edicts of the Senate, as no where else you meet with the like. The royalties and prerogatiues of their Princes onely by and Tacitus recorded.

The man whom we may match with Tranquillus, in my opinion is Velleius Paterculus, who besides his great learning, bore Offices of Honour both in the field & City. His sweet and elegant phrase I will not speake to, but avow his method of breuitie and perspicuity (if wee had his whole workes) in relating the Roman Antiquities from vnto memory to be such, as therein second to no man he ought to be iudged. His Orations in the praises of Men of Markes, are excellent and worthy himselfe, as you may read in his Encomions of Pompey, Caesar, Cicero, which were not written as pertinent to the scope of his history, but by way of preface to the vnderstanding of his history.

Wherein G. Bellay vicaroy of Naples, in a litle Booke of his, concerning the antiquities of the Galles hath imitated his method, and hath left an excellent president for future Historiographers to behold and follow. He wrote likewise in Latine and French the expedition of Charles the fift into Prouince; a work full of wit and wisdom: as he could not otherwise do, being quick of conceit, well learned, and fully experimented in affaires of state: wherein he spent his whole time, either employed in Counsell, in Ambassies, or in command of Armies: his vacant houres he dedicated to the Muses. In much, that amongst the French Nobility, this glorie ought onely to be his; That he was the first man which gaue weapons to Learning, and Learning to weapons. But because no man should accuse one being his Conuincement (for he was of Anioy) of flattery, let him believe that Sleydan hath spent much more paper in his commendation; upon whom, when he had said all he could to his highest praise, he gaue this testimony; That he was not only worthy to be called, Gallie nobilitatis Decus, wherefore let him march in rance with Polibus, Thucidides, Xenophon, Caesar, and Tacitus, for that he examined with an vniuersall pen the reasons of accidents, their beginnings, their risen rages, their ends; and with them their policies, their actions, their Orations. For the Object that he wrote but litle, that is not material in those of history, since every man may iudge a Lyon by his claw. Next vpon Guicciardin presenteth himselfe, whom I would haue said, had wrote in Imitation of the former, had they not bin living at one time. And although he neuer traueled further then Italy, neuer was matchable to Bellay in militare employments, yet notwithstanding by the generall vnderstand of many grave men, he is aduanced to antecede all modern Historiographers, if not the Ancient. For whatsoeuer falleth within compasse of question, be it neuer so intricate, there sheweth he an admirable finess of wit in discussing vpon accidents, euery where interlarding grave sentences to good purpose: As in one place, he covertly taxeth the French of imprudence, for vniuersing Prouinces like tempests, but keeping and maintaining them like faint-hearted Cowards: giuing them to vnderstand, that militare acquisitions were not onely vnprofitable vnto them, but likewise burdanesome and full of loss. A saying worthy so grave an Author, and fit to be thought vpon by all intruding Prince. In another place he glanceth at the over-weening conceits of the Venetians in these words. The Venetians (saith he) all Italy being in a flaming fire, sat still, and without mouing expected the issue of the warre, and their portion of prey, as if no man durst to haue offended their Wisedomes. But a temporizer ought to be superior in force, or els to run the same course that the strongest doth. The which reprehensions haue in them no gall, no obloquy; neither used hee to praise or dispraise any man before hee were dead, and that

Herodian

Velleius  
Paterculus

Bellay

Guicciardin

without

Tranquillus

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without affection or flattery. As was manifest in Pope Leo, by whose fauours he purchased great wealth, Honour, and advancement. For he elected him Generall of the Ecclesiasticall forces, & chief Commander through his whole Territories: And yet he giueth him this censure, That hee was a Prince indowed with many Vertues, and as many vices. And of all writers he alone relateth his inconstancie, in confederating first against King Francis, and after playing the Foxe with Charles the Emperour; That when by his helpe he had throwne the French out of Italy, he sought the easier hane dealt with the Spanish. Again, what could be more truly spoken of Ferdinand, That coloured all his vnassuall desires, with pretences of Religion, and the common good. Another argument of his integrity and vnpartial disposition, was his refutation of Paulus Iouius his Oration de morbo gallico, in fauour of the French: with whom he had good cause to haue bin offended, for the hard siege they gaue him at Placentia, wherein himselfe and his whole fortunes were engaged, had he not valiantly defended the place. Reason it is (saith he) to disburden the French of the infamy of this disease, when as the Spanish brought it into Italy from the westerne Islands. Such was his love, such his care, to write nothing but truth! and therefore he either setteth downe nothing at aduenture, or what he setteth downe, hee pouerth with reasons of necessity. For it is reported that he had the transcripts of all Letters, Decrees, Confederacies, Treaties, and Orations; and therefore boldly vsed these words, Such a one spake in this manner: or where he was doubtfull, Such a one spake to this or like purpose; wherein hee is altogether different from Iouius, who as he denied a great part of his History, so coined he out of his owne braine, as schoolers vse to do their Schoolasticall declamations, all his Orations. A presumption most manifestly appearing by the Oration of Baylon, which Guicciardine extracted out of the Originall copy, and delivered cleane contrary to Iouius.

Besides, he was so diligent a searcher of Actions, persons, places, and counsels, that he seemed to haue travelled, through all the Cities, Borroughs, Castles, and riuers of Italy, and (which is most excellent) to haue perused their publike Records.

What neuer was reported by the vulgar, hee neuer omitted; but noted it as he found it; As in the battle of Mauris where the French defeated the Swizzers; wherein he could not auouch certainly what numbers were slaine, Because (saith he) some spake vpon enuy, some vpon fauour, and others vpon heere-say: many reported XIII. thousand, as many ten thousand: Some eight thousand, and others but three thousand. His historie of Italy containeth the reame of foure yeares; what was without the bounds thereof, he toucheth sparingly and in measure. The wars of the Turkes and Persians, though his intelligence was much better then Iouius, hee wittingly let passe, least by affirming things of doubtful certainty, he should incur suspition; yet, that they should not altogether be in ignorance, he remembreth them lightly, in this manner: It was reported that Selimus invaded Syria and Egypt.

Some men note him of prolixity: but those, who either vpon lone or occasion, are desirous to read affaires of state, and the vicissitude of worldly occurrences, let them neuer grow weary of that fault; because no part of the vniuersall earth, presented more nouelties, more alterations, then Italy alone did in those times. And how easie a matter it was for him to write truely, who by the generall suffrages of the Italian Nation, was indowed with singular wisdom, learning, integrity, and experience, who knoweth not? For without doubt, since some men wrote one thing, some another, and euery one after his owne fancie, we cannot but make reckoning, that it proceeded from diuine providence, amongst such a rapistie of pen-men, to find one whose credite should so high, as verticall to eclipse, if not to extinguish, not onely the blind lights of vulgar fellows, but also the impostures of Iouius and Bembus.

Bonibus

For although Bembus were a man of good place, eloquent, and long employed in the Generall affaires of Italy, yet surely wee must say, that he wrote manie things in fauour of his Citizens otherwise then truth, or else suffer Guicciardine to be conuincid of manie an vntruth, of which disputable imputation, let this one president sway for either. After the French had utterly broken the Venetians at Fornoue, and as the report went, had purchased their way by the sword, Bembus concludeth, that they neither ouerthrow, nor were ouerthrown, but disgraced their returne into Fraunce, by the reproachfull

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proachfull name of a flight. Which Guicciardine more Soldier-like relateth in this manner: If it may be accounted victory, to bring our desires to their wished ends, then surely the French were victors, because they vnderooke the battell to no other end, but to bring the King in safety into France, which they performed. And therefore, since they rowted their enemies, whereof some fell by the sword, and others were drowned in the riuier Tarnus, who would demand other tokens of victory? In the battell of Rauenna, Bembus likewise dissembleth the truth; the honour of which day's iourney no man hitherto denied the French. For (saith he) of common souldiers and Horsemen, there were on both sides aboue eightene thousand slaine; each party suffered like losse, but each party inioyed not like fortune.

Wherefore in that he teareth the Venetians the Bulwarke of Italy, & the Ornament of the Christian Common-wealth, magnifying their Justice, their faith, their greatnesse and power; yea, and the incredible pompe and strength of euery Venetian gally against the Turke, together with the Religion, modesty, and piety of euery private Citizen, I say, I can affirme nothing more true, then that hee plaide the part of a good Citizen, and not of a good Historiographer. That euery where he toucheth the French, for their inconstancie and breach of oath with the Venetians and Alfonso Auila, that honour more discommendeth himselfe, then his enemy. For, if it be infamous by the Lawe of armes, for a souldier to reuile an aduerser Nation, how much more disgracefull is this humour in an Historiographer, especially if in that, whereof he accuseth another, he himselfe be guiltie. As without doubt, they were of that accusation, which Guicciardine layeth vpon the Venetians for breach of the league. Whom he accuseth not with suspicions of double dealing, but flatly affirmeth, That they receiued into their Cittie Auila, euen then Triumphant ouer the French, and their sworn enemy. And that more is, did what they could to include him in the league, the King of France being most vnwilling thereto. That therefore which hee writeth Orator-like of the vnfaithfulness of the French, may goe as currant as his relation, That during the Venetian warre in Apulia, such Armies of Crows and Vultures combated in the Aire, that twelue Carts were numbred to be laden with their dead bodies, Of which report Bembus speaketh not doubtfully, but with much confidence.

By his owne Testimony, he was thre-score yeares o'd, when he began to write his Historie, at which age, hee could hardly endure to take that paine, which we do expect from an Historiographer. His owne words are: I am weary to set downe the matters of smallest moment in that warre. And againe, Who can endure to read all without tediousnesse? These are merely the phrases of Orators, as was also the Oration of Lauredan against Minus, mourning of, he same affliction; wherein hee stood so precisely vpon the purity of a word, that if it were not true Grammer, he would refuse it, were it neuer so significant. The Emperour of Turke he would stile King of Thrace, being scarce by the twentieth part of his Kingdome: and the Duke of Milaine, King: If hee did it for phrase sake, in my Opinion hee did worse for sense sake.

But Procopius was farre unlike Bembus: for it should seeme, that he neither neglected, or vnderstood not the method of History, nor the elegancie of the Greeke tongue, but related the bare accident with diligent obseruation of things of small moment. And for that hee alwaies accompanied Bellisarius in Action, was of his Counsell, employed in diuers Embassies, and indifferent well learned, I make no doubt to ranke him with the best. And againe, I could not but allow him the credit of a most true Author, because he setteth downe the Letters, the Counsels, the leagues, and Orations in diuers and different stile of speeches (infallable arguments of true relations) but that he remembreth his Bellisarius somewhat more often, then modesty may warrant, and that manie times very foolishly.

And yet no where so foolish, as where he excuseth the murder of Constantianus, maister of the Horse to Iustinian the Emperour, procured by Bellisarius, and would haue the worlde beleene, That the destinies and not his Maister had decreed, that Constantianus should die

Procopius

in

## The Epistle

in that manner, His conjectures of the thirty Hogges and the Statue of Theodorus, I reckon as childish; As also his dimension of Thule to be twice as great as Brittain, being indeed not so, by halfe. But his report, that Vespasian, seated on this side Naples, should disgorge such winds, which the wind were carried as farre as Bizantium, pasth all belicfe, being prodigies altogether sanoning of Græcian lewity, wherein the Heathen Historiographers, are not onely to be taxed, but likewise, the Ecclesiasticall.

**Nicephorus**

Nicephorus Calistus is stuffed with like Fables, and Zonoras, otherwise an allowable Author, with Nicephorus Gregoras, are of the same Straine, and now and then Eusebius Cæsariensis: As where with earnestness of protestation, he affirmeth that he saw, a plant grow of his owne accord at the base of a pillar. Whereupon a brazen Strain of Christ was erected, and by the woman cured of her issue of blood dedicated to our SAVIOUR three hundred yeares before. Which as soone as by growth it had touched the extreamest hem of the Statues ingraven garment, it proved to cure all manner of diseases.

The like estimate ought to be had of the works of Antoninus, Adonis, Saxo Grammaticus, Sigifbert, Phericplufus, Naclerus, Marianus, Merlin, Vrfpergensis, Annonius, Turpin, Guaguin, and fuch like old Annales; which notwithstanding we cannot utterly want, & of thefe too, fome are better then other. For although Gregory Turenensis, Antonius Florentine, Guilielmus Bifhop of Tire, and Abbas Vrfpengis, relate many prodigious miracles, yet amongft them fhall you find verie profitable and good obfervations, efpecially for thofe times, which as a man may fay, were overwhelmed with Barbarifme. For they were men long and much employed in affaires of ftate and publicke Counfels; And therefore it may well become us amongft their Garbifh, to cull out their beft annotations, as men doe Gold out of Rocks and Rubbifh; efpecially where better are not to be had.

*P. Venetus*  
Haiton

*As,* for the Historie of the Tartars, if you will not credit Paulus Vetusius author of it, you shall find it full of Fables; but of the two, you shal best beleue no man. And that which they wrote, is but litle, and full of Fables; except on Hayton is the nur. P.Venetus writeth, that the Caspian Seae always without Fiſh, except on Hayton is the nur. P.Venetus writeth, that the Caspian Seae always without Fiſh, except on Hayton is the nur. P.Venetus writeth, that the Caspian Seae always without Fiſh, except on Hayton is the nur.

**F: Alvarus**

The State of Æthiopia F. Alvarus hath written with better integrity and more manifestly, being  
since confirmed by Strabo's, good Authors, and late Travellers, and with great delight to be per-  
used.

The late Histories of the Goths, Saxons, Nervians, Sarmatians & Polonians and Danes, A-Zéglers, Cromerus, Crantzius & Olaus have published; at except Olaus very probable Authors, who now and then telleth wonders: whereof mine, by the Testimony of Authors and good witnesses may induce persuasion; as the metamorphosing of men into Wolves, once it downe by the Authority of Herodotus, Pomponius Mela, and the Ancients, and nowe againe verified by the Moderne. Which Gaspar Pencer, a man of great Learning, well aduised, and one that had travelled through most partes of Europe, did signifie vnto me, that hee heard it credibly reported by the Inhabitantes to be true. Which whether it be a secret of Nature, as is storied of Parrhasius, or an influence of Diuine punishment, as it is recorded of Nabuchadnezar, I cannot yet resolve.

Leo Afer

After Aluarcus followeth Leo Afer, and for similitude of subject, I will compare him to Pomponius, Strabo, and Pausanias, whom I will hence-forward term *Geographistorici*, for their Geographical method of Historie. Strabo lightly toucheth the kingdomes and Commonweales of the whole world, Pausanias onely the Provinces of Greece, but so exactly describeth their greatness, their declining, the inhabitants, the Cities, Castles, Rivers, Hills, Springs, Temples, and famous, that by all mens opinions in that kind, he challengeth precedency. So Leo Afer, by birth a Moor, by habitation a Spaniard, first a Mahumetan and afterward a Christian, after he had Travell'd almost

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almost the better part of Africke, Asia the lesse, and a good portion of Europe, was taken Prisoner by Pirats, and presented to Pope Leo. During the term of which captivity, hee translated into the Italian tongue these remembrances, which with infinite toyle, hee had gathered in the Arabian language concerning Africa, the customes, lawes, and divers people thereof, with the situation and description of the whole Regi.n. The art military hee seldom toucheth, but the overthrowes of their Kings, given and taken, hee briefly relateth, without Orations or ornament of stile, Geographically, not Historically, and yet with pleasing delight of noveltie, hee cometh his unwilling Reader to tedious peruseance. He thrusteth upon us no great impossibilities, wlesse it be the admirable dexterity of the Egyptian Ass, of which himselfe was an eye-witnesse. Likewise that the tawles of certaine Sheepe of Egypt, should weigh some fiftie pound, some one hundred and twentie pound: It is the report also of Bellonius, Hieronimus, and Cardanus. At a word, hee only of all men hath discovered this Nation, which lay buried in ignorance and Barbarisme a thousand yeares before his time.

Next after him approacheth F. Leandrus and S. Munfter; the former described Italy, the other all Germany as lively to view, as if it were in Maps or Tables, adorning thereto the History of the various fashions and manners of the people. But Munfter had done well, if he had turned his Cosmographiam into Germanographiam, being indeed nothing else to speak on, save a particular description of Germany and Heluetia, their situations, people, and descent.

But as our Geographihistorici mingled Topography with story: so our Philosophihistorici beautified their Narratives of Action with precepts of wisdom. In which kind, great is the praise of Xenophon, yea, the greater, in that he had no president to imitate (as Velleius witnesseth) of Homer nor none that sh<sup>d</sup> be able to imitate him. Nearely approacheth Plutarch, then Laertius, and thirdly Philo Iudaeus, betwene whom and Plato the Ancients in myndement gave a most true censure.

Equall unto these is Iotissup, or inferior in secrets of Philosophy, farre superior in the secrets of Antiquitie. At which Ierom doth wonder, that such exquisite knowledge of the Grecian dialect, should be found in a man of the Irish Nation. But the reason thereof is apparant in his Bookes against Apion the Grammarian, wherein he so verifieth the writings of Moles (though sufficient full of credit themselves) by the authorities of the Grecians, the Persians, the Egyptians, & Chaldeans, that nothing can be said with more profit, by those who are desirous to studie Antiquities. The Ages of the world, related by Moles, be confirmed by the Testimonies of twelve Historiographers, relating every all stand all of credibility. The Aunceltry, faith, Religion, learning, and integrity of this Country-men. He not onely perswade before all Nations, thereby to revive the eclipsed honor thereof, but also dash his rimest to red-ensigns oblivion, and opposition, things of undoubted veritie. For by his writings, the Fables of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Justine, are easily to be verified.

After him, Hegesippus a Jew, wrote five Bookes of the Jewish wars, which Ambrose by report turned into Latine. But Iosippus wrote better and truer, because hee was both an Action and command, and being prisoner to Vespasian and Titus, notwithstanding by their famous purchased the freedome of the Citie, and the Honour of a Statue. For in him wee invest the good parts of an Historiographer, which we have mentioned before, (viz.) great learning, unpassionate integrity, & experience of affaires. His integrity is apparent in this; That being a Jew, he gave notwithstanding a graue, reuerent, and Liable Testimonie of Christ; whereas our Ecclesiastical writers dissembling upon the adulteraries of our Religion, are so faine to aspersed with Enmie, that they not onely conceal their deserved commendations, but also disgrace them with most opprobrious and indecent railings. Wherof, let Iulian the Apollata be the plaintife, who though he were worthe both of blame & punishment, yet for those things which be performed with good commendation and honour, he ought not to be silenced by an Historiographer: wherein our writers haue generally faulted: And certes, should rather haue imitated Ammianus Marcellinus his method, and a deint desire of deliuering in Vtranque partem, nothing but truth: who after he had commended the neuer dying vertues of Princes to memory, then proceeded to display their vices, as enerie good Author ought to do. And the accusations which be laid upon Iulian, were, that he mingled old Heathnish superstitions with the vnspotted & simple (for those be his words) religion of the Christians: that he bereft them of all helps of learning, & cruelly commanded the Comites Palatines of Constantine to be murdered. These

Xenophon

*Iosippus*

**Hegesippus**

*Ammianus*



## The Epistle

*These were his vices; His excellent vertues, as his temperance, his fortitude, his continency, his fauour to wisedome, and his Iustice aboue opinion, he proueth by action and witness. As in this one example for many. When Delphidius Gallus (a most harpe Orator) had accused Numerius President of Narbon in France, then lying at Paris, and was vrged to bring forth his proofes and witnesses: Most mighty Caesar (saith he) what man will euer be found guilty, if his bare deniall be sufficient to cleare him? To whom Caesar answered, And what man shall euer depart innocent, if one mans accusation should suffice to condemne him?*

*This Ammianus was a Grecian, a Knight, and a follower of Vrsicinus, maister of the horse in all the warres almost, which in those times were managed by the Romans in Europ, or Asia. His workes remaine whole, and digested into eighteen Bookes, beginning at the thirtieth yeare of the Emperour Constantius, and ending with Valeus. The other thirteene are easie to be added out of other mens writings. He had begun at Nerua where Tacitus ended, and whom of all men he resolved to obserue and imitate. Onely herein is the difference, that Tacitus (according to the times) had a speciall regard of the Roman elegance, but Ammianus used Italian phrases and sometimes neither Latine nor Romaine, but plaine Greeke. He much and often digresseth from the maine history, a disease wherunto euen the greatest Authors are much inclined; and whereof Porsidonius doth grievously complaine against Cicero. But Ammianus regarding the matter more then the phrase, saith that Obedience against himselfe in this manner. In that (saith he) the text seemeth tedious, it profiteth our vnderstanding to the full: for whosoeuer affecteth ouermuch breuity, where things of doubtfull knowledge are related, seeketh after ease, but ripeneth not his iudgement.*

*Wherefore amongst such diuers and different variety of Authors, it is most necessarie, for euery man to make a true and aduised choise of that learning wherunto his study standeth most addicted, least in this small and short leasure of life, he seeme not to haue read much, and yet in points of ambiguity cannot determine with himselfe upon what to resolve.*

*As if he be thoroughly perswaded of Polidor for the affaires of England, (although he be suspicious to the Scots and French) of Rhenanus for the Historie of Germany, and of Emilius for the state of France, then shall he need to take no great paines in Beda, Guagun, Gacus, Saxo, and such like, who handled the said Histories without method or order: and no marvel; for as those times afforded great plenty of writers, so their credits and reputations quickly vanished. Plutarch reckoneth vp three hundred that wrote the battaile of Marathon. And of thirtie that committed to print the affaires of Italy, one onely mans credit and good method, haue quite put the residue to the horne.*

*In these times the world swarmeth with such as commit to writing things of base and vulgar Argument, whereas in times of greatest antiquity wee had almost none. And therefore because it were a labour infinite, to peruse euery mans papers, let the Iudicious Reader, out of minde, make choise of the better, by the assistance of these directions, (or by better of his owne, if he can) which we haue herce before described.*

*Thus much for choise of History, which I avow not so positively to haue published, but that therein I am content to leaue euery man to his free election.*

FINIS.



# THE CONSPIRACIE of Cateline, written by C. Crispus Sallustius.

The Proëme.

CHAP. I.



Y howe much Nature hath created *Man* the worthiest of all liuing Creatures, by so much, the rather ought <sup>a</sup> he by Vertuous exercises to Dedicate to eternity, some *Record* of his proficiency, and not to die in Seilence or Obluion, like the *Beasts* of the field, whom God hath fashioned onely of a Seruile condition, <sup>b</sup> fit for no proiect, but to feede the belly. Our sufficiency consisteth aswell of a *Soule*, as of a *Body*; yea, more bountifully assisted by the Essence of the *One*; then any way aduanced by the faculties of the *Other*. For of the *First*, we participate with the Goddes; The *Second*, we inioy in no fuller a measure, then euery other Base Creature. Whereupon

<sup>a</sup> Pli. *Omni homini id facendum est, quo se aliquando vixisse testetur*

<sup>b</sup> *Paululum admodum sentiens praterita, aut futura.*

B dare

<sup>c</sup> Sen. In omnia premittendus est animus, cogitandum, non qui t. sileat, sed quisquid potest fieri.

<sup>d</sup> Alterum indiget auxilio alterius, corpus auxilio animi, & animus auxilio corporis.

<sup>e</sup> P<sup>r</sup> Trismegistus & Ptolomeus.

<sup>f</sup> Inde aurea secula feruntur sub Saturno fuisse.

dare be bolde to affirme, that it is more commendable to Labour in quest of glory by <sup>c</sup> Learning and good Artes, (considering the shortnesse of our daies bound, as I saide, to leaue somewhat behind vs to the eternizing of our remembrance) then to purchase Fame by the dependancies of Valour and Fortitude. For *Riches and Strength of Body are fleeting and determinable: Vertue is onely permanent, and out-liueth Time.*

But it hath beene much questioned amongst diuers sorts of men, whether <sup>a</sup> strength or Policy, in the Art Military, hath best ballanced the affaires: The conclusion whercof hath bin, that *Before Resolution, it is the wisest course to aduise slowly, but after mature aduice, to proceede roundly.* Wherby it should seem, that the one, without the assistance of the other, can afford no true safety. And therefore in Auncient time, <sup>e</sup> the Kings (for that was the first attribute of Honour in this worlde) did some, take delight in the contemplation of Wisedome, and the Vertues of the mind; others in exercises of Activity and strength of bodie. For as yet the <sup>f</sup> Ambitious desire of Soueraignty, had not intrahed mens mindes to Couetize: euery one passed his time with content of his priuate fortunes.

But after that *Cyrus in Asia*, and the *Lacedemonians* with the *Athenians* in *Greece*, began to force Cities, and to subdue Nations, then the loue of Soueraignty became a iust Title for Warre and inuasion, and the largest Empire was inrolled for the most Honourable conquest. Euen then, by dangers and occurrences, experience gaue prooofe, that Policy bore no small sway in Martial exploits.

But if the carriages of Kings and Princes bore like moderation in times of peace, as they afforded in Tempests of Warre, surely the estates of Kingdomes, and the affaires of this world would longer flourish, and be better gouerned. And then should we neither behold Vsurpation, nor mixture of Nations, nor confusion of Languages: for it is doubtlesse true, that *Kingdomes are safest maintained by those meanes, by which they were at first acquired.* But where as Sloth is entertained instead of Labor; Lust, in lieu of Chasti-

Chastity, and Pride maketh <sup>g</sup> scoorne of Equity, there of necessity must our hard Fortunes participate of our manners and behaviours. And so it commonly falleth out, that all Empires at first (in themselves Valiant and vertuous) haue degenerated and declined. For let men assure themselves, that *Whether they employ their Times in Husbandry, Traffique, or gorgeous Buildinges, Perpetuity consisteth in Vertue.* For as concerning those parts of men, whose mind is their belly; their delight, sleep; their body (against common sence) their Coyance; their Nobler part, a greauance; vterly vnlearned, and worse nurtured, spending their daies as Idots, and <sup>h</sup> Strangers; of these, I say, I put no distinction betwene their liuing soules, and their dead Carcasses, for that <sup>i</sup> with their bodies their remembrance is buried. But the man that either spendeth his time in publicke Office, in archieument of Honour, or aduancement of his name by the inuention of some good & profitable Art, him will I affirme truly to liue, and essentially to participate of a reasonable soule.

But in this mixture and vniuerse of humors, Nature hath laide out to diuers men, diuersity of courses: as to meditate the prosperity and welfare of the state, is exceeding commendable; no lesse praise-worthy is it, to speake well, and to plead iudiciously; and to inuest posterity with the Titles of Honor in merit of our good carriages, either in Peace or Warre, is no lesse allowable: neither they that haue beene Actors, nor they that haue beene the Registers of others honourable actions, are to be denied or defrauded of their Lawrell Girlands.

And in my Iudgement, although the like commendation were to be bestowed vpon the Historiographer, as may seeme deserued due to the Actor, yet thus much dare I affirm, that it is a most difficult task, by writing to represent the Actions of great Personages. First, for that words and stile ought to equalize their deeds. Secondly, for that many men are of opinion, that the reprehension of faults proceedeth from Spleene or Enuy; whereas in recitall of the Vertues and generous passages of good men, euery

<sup>b</sup> Hinc Caton (aunt) consussit de Carthagine non deinde, ut inde inuenitur Romana tenebatur in militis. Tunc. Nunc patitur longe parum mala: senior armis Luxuria incubuit.

<sup>c</sup> Plaut. Omnia sunt bona, quem pones est virtus.

<sup>d</sup> Qui transiunt non transiunt.

<sup>e</sup> Inglorij sunt & vni & inuiri.

one according to his slender capacity, opinionating the facility of performance, giueth the beliefe, but what is more, or goeth beyond his incredulous vnderstanding, he reputeth false, and therefore fabulous.

Now I being a young man amongst others, was taken from my Booke, and thrust into the worlde, whercin I found many things were opposite to my disposition. For, instead of modesty, abstinence, and frugall Liberality, I found all places accustomed<sup>m</sup> to Impudence, Bribery, & Auarice. Which although my very soule did loath, as a Virgin vndeiled with these contagious abuses, yet by reason of my tender yeares (as it could not otherwise fall out) in the very context of so many fretting and inticing frailties, I could not escape the humour of Ambition. For being spotlesse in all other Vanities, the same desire of preferment which had atached others with boldnes & ambition,<sup>n</sup> seized also vpon me, & therefore as soone as I had quit my mind from cares & dangers, & thereupon had resolved to spend my future daies far from the employments of the state, yet at last I resolved with my self that it was but a base conceit, either to trifle out my times of leysure, in  
 o Sloth and Clownish Ignorance; or to weare out the better powers of my body in toyle some Husbandry, in disports of hunting, or any such seruile pleasures.

Whereuppon retyring my selfe to my Booke, from whence ydle ambition had once almost withdrawne me, I haue resolutely set mee downe, briefly to relate the glorious actions of the *Roman* people, and that with the greater courage, because my pen is free from hope, from feare, or any other the partialities of the commonwealth. My subiect shall be, *The Conspiracie of Cateline*, wherin, I vow all possible Breuity. My reasons are, *the Memorie of the Action*, the *Greatnesse of the Danger*, the *Foulenesse of the Fact*, and the *Strangenesse of the Plot*. And first I will begin with the manners and disposition of the Agent.

## CHAP. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Probi prius Romani abstinebant a gradu altiore, quam digni videbantur, nunc per largitionem omnia innuebant.

<sup>n</sup> Dociles imitandis turpibus et prauis omnes sumus.

<sup>o</sup> Pro modo otiosus dicitur, qui penitus cessat, alio modo, qui in publico munere non est licet in re privata multum laboret.

## CHAP. 2.

## 1. The Linage, Life, and Conditions of Cateline. His Motives to ingagement.



His *L. Cateline* was descended of Honourable Parentage, a man of an able body, and no lesse adorned with Gentleman-like qualities, but of an euil and forward disposition. From his youth addicted to ciuil dissensions, to Quarrelling, to Cheting and discord: these were meere the humours of his youth. His body could well inure it selfe to vndergo Want, Watching, & cold, more then humane. Bold of Spirit, Subtle, Waywarde, a deepe dissembler, greedy of another mans Thrift, Prodiggall of his owne: Talkatiue enough, voide of wisdom, of an high minde, accompanied with desires vnfatigable, incredible, too too ambitious.

After the Tyranny of <sup>a</sup> *Silla*, his proud mind could take no rest, for Meditating, how he likewise might vsurpe vpon the state; neither cared he how, or by what meanes he had it, so he were sole-Lord in possession. His haughty spirit was euery day more troubled then other: his *Pouerty* & guilty *Conscience*, did daily sollicite progression, and both these, were seconded by those his inclinations, whereof we first related. Besides, the depraued and corrupted manners of the state did animate his Nature, on which *Ryot*, and *Auarice*, two the worst and most opposite vices, did continually hammer.

And now (sithence we are fallen into Relation of the corruption of the state) the course of the History doth call vpon me, somewhat to remember the times of Antiquity

<sup>a</sup> Silla recuperata Rep. Et oppressis Marianis, pulcherrimam villorū crudelitatem maxima inquinavit. Oculis milia deditorum in via publica trucidant, tabulam proscriptorum posuit, urbem & totū tristem cadibus repluit.

*De cuius immen-  
sitate sic Livius.  
Qua ab exiguis  
profecta iunctis, sed  
creuerit, ut iam  
magnitudinis labo-  
res sui.*

and in few words to relate, how our Aunccestors managed the state in Peace and in Warre, how glorious they bequeathed it, how in proceſſe of time it drooped, and of a most faire, good, and beautifull Empire, it degenerated vnto a most base, most vile, and most ignominious Tyrannie.

### CHAP. 3.

*The Originall and declination of the Roman Empire. The commendation of those Aunccestours, who erected and enlarged it. A taxation of the present times.*

*A varia & incerta de civitatibus conditoribus est opinio.*



He first inhabitants and builders of the City of Rome (as by report) were the *Troians*, who vnder the conduct of *Aeneas*, wandered as fugitiues about the world, in no place claiming any true propriety of inhabitation. With them descended the *Aborigines*, *Saluages*, living without Lawe, without Gouvernement, Free, and Resolute. But after they had incircled themselves within the compasse of a Wall, it were almost an incredible relation to report, how lovingly they agreed, considering their difference in descent, their diuersity in Dialect, and contrariety of fashions. Yet after, their estate grew respectiue by increase of Inhabitants, by Ciuility and augmentation of Territory (a common accident in worldly affaires) factions & discontents arose from superfluity. The Princes and the bordering nations inuaded them, few friends were found to assist them: in respect of the danger they were content to Temporize. But the *Romans* proud in peace, and valourous in Warre, neglected no Opportunity, prepared armor, encouraged one another, carried the warre into the enemies Countrey, reposed their liberty, the safety of their Coun-

Countrey, and the welfare of their Parents, in the valor of their armes: Yea, after they had diuerſed the Terror of war by their valiancy, they assisted their allies and companions in armes, multiplying their leagues & associations, rather by giuing, then receiuing of gratuities. *Such power hath Lawfull acquisition, to adde greatnesse vnto Empire.*

To those, who by reason of their years, were vserviceable in body, yet very sufficient for aduice & counsel, were committed the cares of the City and ciuill affaires; and these, in respect of their age, or simpathy of their charges, were termed *Fathers*.

But after, that sole Soueraignty (which at first was ordained for protection of Liberty, and augmentation of Territory) degenerated into Pride, and hereditary Titles: by change of that custome, they transferred the Gouvernement of one, to the annuall Election of two *Consuls*. By this forme of limited pollicy, they verily beleueed that they had vtterly suppressed the minds of mankind, from dreaming vpon the imaginary humors of licentious Soueraignty. But then, more then before, began euery man to estimate his owne worth, and to hammer his head on high disſeigns. For absolute Princes are alwaies more icalous of the good, then of the badde, because another mans Vertue (as they take it) is a diminution of their respectiuenesse, and therefore dangerous.

But it is incredible to report, in howe short a time, the City, hauing obtained this forme of Liberty in Gouvernement, increased and prospered; so infinite a desire of glory, had possessed the minds of all sorts. For now the youth, by yeares enabled to the Trauels of Warfare, and by vse invred, accounted it no labour to learne to manage their weapons in the open felde, with a diuersity of their delights, from Whores and Ordinaries, to gallant Furnitures of seruice, & riding of warlike Horses. To such courages, no labor was vnwelcome, no place inaccessible; or ynassailable; no nor the armed enemy, dreadfull or vnmatchable. Valor was resolute, & at all times victorious

Their

Their emulation was glorious: Euery mans strife was, who should first attach the enemy; giue the *Scalado*: euery one thrust forward, to effect such and such a peece of seruice, in the eye of his Generall: These exploits they accounted Riches, Reputation, and true Nobility. The eulogies & Reports of the people best fitted their humors; of their Purfes they were liberall; desirous of glory about measure; content with competency.

Were it not that I should weary your eares too iniuriously with this tedious digression, I could point you out, in what places, euen with <sup>a</sup> a handfull of men, the *Roman* people routed huge battallions of their enemies, & forced <sup>c</sup> Cities, by Nature impregnable. But surely <sup>d</sup> Fortune, blind Fortune, wil haue prædominancy in all our affayrs. In all actions she it is, that aduanceth and debaseth all our proiects, more like a Tyrannesse (according to wil) then a Goddess relying vpon merit.

The fortunes of the *Athenians* in my Iudgement, were very honourable and illustrious; yet sure, somewhat inferior to report: but by reason of the <sup>e</sup> excellent Writtes, which thence descended, their acts were famousd through the whole world, to the vtmost of commendation: yea, so farre forth was the vertue of the Actor, strained to reputation, as possibly those excellent wittes could delineate it by writing. But with the *Romans* it fared farre otherwise; for neuer had they the good hap of such diuersity of penmen, because the wisest and most sufficient spirits, were most employed in the affaires of the state. The sufficiency of the wise man, was no priuiledge to exempt him from the emploiment of his body; Euery one of the better sort delighted to do, and not to say, desiring rather to heare his owne praises recorded from the mouth of a stranger, then himselfe Minstrel-like, to be the Chaunter of another mans glory.

Whereupon it came to passe, that Law and discipline were strictly reuerenced both in City and Campe. Their concord and vnyty were admirable, their Couetousnesse scarce perceiuable. Equity they imbraced more for loue, then

<sup>b</sup> *Præ in Armenia, ubi Lucullus Tigranem fudit, & filium eius captivum in triumphum duxit.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Vir. Incessans, fragilis, perfida, lubrica.*

<sup>e</sup> *Inter quos præcipua Thucydides.*

<sup>f</sup> *Liuius. Nulla unquam res, nec maior, nec sanctior: nec in quam tam serò auaritia, Luxuriosius, immogratiuerant: nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertatis ac parsimonie bonus fuerit.*

<sup>c</sup> *Præ Carthaginensium, et Numantia in Hispania.*

then for fear of punishment: as for their Brawls, Iclousies, & Discontents, them they wreaked vpon their enemies. Their mutual contentions were one with another, in quest of Vertue; their sacrifices Prince-like, their home-fare Parsimonious; in friendship constant. Thus by *Courage* in Warre, and *Iustice* in Peace, they aduanced and augmented themselves and their state. Whereof these two Politicall experiments do fully assure me; the first for that in Warre they more seuerely punished those that fought properly with the enemy, either against, or without, the command of the Generall, or retired from the pursuit more slowly, then they ought; then those, who either forsooke their colours, or being beaten from their Stations, durst aduenture to flee. Secondly, in Peace, they wrought more by curtesie then feare, rather winking at wrongs, then willing to reuenge. Thus by valor and Iustice the state florished: mighty Kings were by War subdued; the barbarous Nations, & many potent Commonweales by force dispoiled; yea, *Carthage*, the Corriuall of the *Roman* Empire vtterly ruinated: All Seas were freed of Pyrates, all Lands cleared of Enemies.

Now began Fortune to frown, to bring in confusion, to raise vp innouation. To those couragious spirits, which but yesterday made light of labour, of dangers, and of difficult aduentures, diuise of armes, and purchase of riches, (the delights of forren Nations) are now becom Gines to inthrall their valors, and the cause of all insuing miseries: Where after followed the immoderate scraping of money, with the ambitious desire of superiority. To speake truly, these were the fatall bellows to kindle the fire of our future misfortunes. For auarice, first taught vs to violate our faiths, to scorne honesty, and all other iust proceedings, inuesting vs in lieu thereof, with Pride, Cruelty, Irreligion, and vnconscionable sales of euery thing vendible. Ambition withal, made vs false and brazen-faced, to retaine one fence in our minds, and vter another with our tongues: to estimate friendship and hatred, not by true merit, but by profit: and finally to fashion our faces

<sup>g</sup> *Artes quibus imperium paratur, sunt prudentia, consilium, attentio, Temperantia, continentia, abstinentia, parsimonia, fortitudo, labor, vigililia, industria, institutio, fides, liberalitas, religio.*

ces to the world, and our consciences to hell. These abuses and impostures grew vp by <sup>h</sup> leisure, and were sometimes punished.

But after that the contagion grew strong and violent, the state was presently chaunged: and that forme of Government, which whilom was most iust and excellent, became most cruell and intollerable. At first ambition, the neereſt counterfet of vertue, ragged more then *Anarice*. For as wel the worthy, as the vnworthy, did strue to purchase Glory, preferment, and offices. But the one, paced the right path, the other by reason of his insufficiency, practised by cunning and indirect bribery.

*Anarice* is an immoderate desire of riches, which neuer any wise man hunted after: being so incorporated with vifcene poisons, that it corrupteth the body, and altereth the mind: The loue whereof is boundlesse, & insatiable, neither asswaged with surpluse, nor diminished by want.

But after that *L. Silla* by armes had freed the state, by the defeature of *Marius*; from these good and prosperous beginnings, proceeded disastrous conclusions. For <sup>i</sup> hee, to make the army, suffered his followers to spoile, to rob, to defeat one of his house, another of his possessions: the victors sword knew no meane, no modesty: <sup>k</sup> abhominable and cruell, were the executions which they inflicted vpon their fellow Citizens. Vnto these abuses the armie which *Silla* himselfe ledde into *Asia*, gaue no small furtherance. For hee, to assure the dependancies of his men of Warre, contrary to the custome of his predecessors, behaued himselfe too popularly and riotously, amongst them. Their pleasant incampings, & voluptuous townes of Garrison, had ouer-wrought their fierce courages with ydlenesse. In this place, was the first ouerthrow of the *Roman* armies; for heere, they learned to Wench, to drinke healths, and to growe into fancying of Scutchions, Pictures, and inchaſed vtensils: yea, and to purloine publicly and priuately, to Pillage Temples, and to put no conscience betweene sacred and prophane Robberies. These

<sup>h</sup> Iuven. Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.

<sup>k</sup> Prius 80. praescriptis: uno interfecto die ducentos & viginti alios adiecit: tertio, non pauciores adiecit: dixitque de multis proscripturum eos quorum tunc esset oblitus.

<sup>i</sup> Appia: scribit illum 40. Senatores, equites mille et sexcentos ad mortem condemnasse.

These were the fouldiers, which after their purchase of victory, pillaged their fellow Citizens and Countrymen with all extremities. Certainly, prosperity blindeth the Iudgement of the wise; who then would expect, that these men, being most dissolutely disciplined, coule vnto their victory with moderation?

<sup>i</sup> After that the Rich man was reputed for honorable, and that Worship, Superiority, & Attendance, depended vpon wealth, then began vertue to play bankrupt; Poverty to be disgracefull, and free Language to be accounted malicious frowardnesse. Whereby it came to passe, that youth by superfluity, grew Luxurious, proud, & yet penurious; giuen to Extortion, yet prodigall: Of their owne estates vnthrifty, of another mans extreame couetous; of modesty and ciuill behauiour, exceeding neglectiue: in diuine and human offices, indifferent: in discretion and moderation, carelesse.

In compare of these times, wonder it were to beholde our auncient edifices and Villages, builte in fashion of Citties, with the magnificence of those Temples, which our most religious aunccestors erected: Truly, <sup>m</sup> they adorned Religious habitations with deuotion: their priuate Mansions with fame: neither bereft they the conquered Enemy of any thing, saue his apparant meanes of rebellion. On the contrary, these wretches, the basest of men, ransacked their companions, and that most shamelesly, of all those their necessaries, which (the other) most worthy victors, euen spared to their enemies; accounting it a disparagement to valor, & a point of heynous iniury, to doe all that, that the conqueror might do.

But to what purpose, shoulde I talke of those abuses, which no man will beleue, except hee were an Eye-witnesse: either of mountaines leuelled, or <sup>o</sup> seas made firme foundations, by the abilities of priuate purses? W herein, if I might sit iudge, I could not but laugh at their follies, for that euery one made more hast then other, indifferently to lauish that out, which honestly to make vse of, was good and lawfull.

<sup>l</sup> Iuue. Quidam inter nos sanctissime diuitiarum, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Per se, aut per seminata maioris.

<sup>o</sup> Per fecerat Lucullus Neapoli. unde Flor. Contraſta piſces equora sentiunt, iactis altum molibus.

<sup>n</sup> Virg. arma, naues, equos. Interdum menia diruebant Tributaria sacra est Carthago, priusquam deleta.

*P. Casta fuit, quæ  
nemo rogauit.*

*¶ Iuue, unde ha-  
ber, nemo querat:  
sed spiritus ubere*

Moreover, the loue of Women, of Gaming, and curiosity, had made no lesse a breach into their vicious humours: the men behaued themselves like women, and women made open prostitution of their reputation. Their trauels, by Sea and by Land, were onely to see, not to obserue: giuing themselves to sleepe, before Nature refectet it: and to satisfie their appetites, before that eyther hunger, wearinesse, Thirst, or colde, attached their bodies. Then, how could it be preuented, but that youth must fling out, when ability is wanting? A mind thus affected, can not want fit proiectes of pleasures, to the accomplishment whereof, it regards not what it gets, nor how it spends:

#### CHAP. 4.

1. *Catelines policies in entertainment of lewd Company. 2. The causes which hastened the Conspiracy, and gaue the fiercest motives of Resolution.*



N this so flourishing, so populous, and corrupted a state, *Cateline* gaue entertainment (a disfigne loone effected) to all the wickedest and disoldest gallants of the City, retaining them neer about his person, as if they had bin the guards of his bodie. For whatsoeuer vnchast companion,

Adulterer, or Swagerer, had dissipated his Patrimony, by lauish Liberality, by Surfering, or Letchery: whosoever stood ingaged in bonds, so that his meanes were not able to purchase his freedome: all sortes of Murderers, Church-robbers, such as stood convicted by Iudgments, or, for feare of Iudgement, durst not shewe their faces before the seate of Iustice: those, whose tongues had beene polluted with periury, or had their handes tainted with

ciuill

*¶ Facinora redimantur, tunc pecunia, quia (visum est) ante Sillam non licebat interficere cines Romanos, nisi in quibusdam criminibus.*

*¶ Ea est in amicitia calamitas maxima, quod Amor precedat iudicium.*

*¶ Historici est nihil affirmare quod compertum est exploratum non habere.*

ciuill bloodshed: And last of all, whomsoever the remorse of a crying conscience afflicted, Pouerty oppressed, or a guilty soule redargued of offence, these were the friends, fauorites and followers of *Cateline*.<sup>b</sup> But if it hapned, that any true Gentleman, innocent of these misbehaviours, chanced into his company, by daily vse and example, he became in a trice, fellow and fashionable to the residue of his Consorts. His especiall proiect was, to affect the acquaintance of the younger sort, because hee knewe their minds to be soonest and readiest wrought to any impression. And therefore by obseruation of euery mans humor, some he would acquaint with beautifull Harlots; vpon othersome he would bestow Dogges of pleasure, & vpon others galant horses, sparing for no cost, no importunacy, first to ingage their allegiances, and afterwarde to make vse of their loyalties.

2. I am not ignorant, that<sup>4</sup> many men were of opinion, that the youth which frequented the house of *Cateline* abandoned their bodies to vnchast devices, but this surmise arose vpon other grounds, then were knowne to the vulgar. For it was long sithence, that *Cateline* beeing a young man, had frequently defiled his body with a Noble Virgin, a Nunne of *Vesta*; and against the Lawes and all Conscience, had committed very many such like inormities: and at last, being ouertaken in the Loue of *Aurelia Oristella*, (a Lady for no good part commendable, but a beautifull vilage) it was for certainty reported, that, because she stood squeamish of marriage, in regarde shee feared what might happen, when his child, and her sonne in law, should come to yeares, he made away the boy, & by this sceleritious match, left his house Issuelesse. VVhich one only proiect, to my vnderstanding, was the principal and violentest motiue, to hasten on the Treason. For who knoweth not, that a *Conscience accused of murder, hateful to Gods and men, can neither take rest by day, nor by night, but is alwaies tormented with the appeale of its owne guiltinesse*. And thereupon his complexion changed, his eye grewe dull, his pace variable, sometimes quick, sometimes slow;

C 3

surely

*¶ Te. Quod plerique facitis adolescentuli, ut animum ad aliquod studium educant, aut equos alere, aut canes ad venandum.*



surely his face bewrayed his troubled conscience. Then, in deeper manner (then before) he meditated, to engage his youthfull followers in hainous offences, teaching them to play knights of the Post, to forge bills and conueyances, & to make no reckoning of Faith, Fortunes, or Daungers. When hee perceiued them thus carelesse and shamelesse, he proceeded to points of higher doctrine: and that was, that if a present occasion of ill doing presented not it selfe at hande, that nethelesse, they shoulde not desist to circumvent the good as well as the bad; no, not if their liues lay in hazard; for feare forsooth, least disyse, should bring their hands out of temper, or their mindes to forgetfulness of actuating euill: training them vp to deceit and cruelty, in purchase of small game, rather then to sit out and doe nothing.

## CHAP. 5.

1. *Cateline resoluesh to seize on the state.* 2. *His reasons.* 3. *What sorts of men are to bee noted prime-actors in Rebellion.*



**A**ssiduity begat constancy: & therefore *Cateline* now firmly relying vpon the faith and assistance of these his confederates, and already hauing ingaged his credit thorough all countries, as deeply, as possible his assurance coulde stretch vnto; and withal, not vnpolitickly obseruing, that the remaines of *Silla* army, by liuing more riotuously then the rapines of their late victory could warrant them (wheteof a fresh memory yet boiled in their stomackes) did itch after a seconde ciuill Warre, roundly resoluesh with himselfe, to become maister of the state.

2. In

2. In *Italy* no Army was on foot. *G. Pompeius* managed the ware in forreigne countries. His hopes, in standing for the Consul-ship, were not fewest. The Senate was secure; All men in peace, all places deuoted to good Correspondency. Fitter opportunities could not fortune haue heaped into *Catelines* bosome: He tooke holde, and therefore about the Kalends of *June*, *L. Caesar*, and *C. Figulus* being Consulles, hee sendeth for euery man apart, some he intreateth, others hee comforteth, and opposeth to their considerations their own strength) compared it with the weaknesse of the state vnprovided; and lastly, forgetteth not to insinuate the massinesse of reward, which attended vpon their purchase of victory.

3. After this priuate discourse, he findeth a time to call a generall Counsel, of all those, whom either for Nobility, for deepenesse of interest in the plot, or desperate dispositions, he durst best intrust.

Of the Order of *Senators*, appeared *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Antonius*, *L. Cassius Longinus*, *C. Cethegus*, *P. and Seruius*, the sonnes of *Silla Seruius*, *L. Verguntius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Lecca*, *Lucius Bestia*, *Q. Curius*. Of the order of Knights, *M. Fuluius* the Noble, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gaius Capito*, *C. Cornelius*. Besides these, many of the Colonies and enfranchised Cities, men of good esteeme in their Countries; yea, and some great personages (but in more secret maner) were a Counsell in the action, whom neyther want nor any other necessity drew in, but meere ambition, to share for their fortunes.

Moreouer, the maior part of the youth, and those especially of the Gentry, were glad of the proiect, and fauored the plot; such I meane, whose humors desired to spende gallantly, or to liue wantonly, affecting incertainties for certainties, and bloodshed rather then peace.

Some liued in those daies, who durst affirme, that *M. Licinius Crassus* was not altogether a stranger vnto that assembly, for that *G. Pompeius* his corriuall and aduersarie, was then preferred to be Lord Generall of the Army, against whose credite and greatnesse hee cared not whose enuy

c. Contra Tiptianē  
& Methidæum.

enuy, or what power he prouoked: nothing mistrusting if the conspiracy prospered, but that he would find means to become their leader.

Before this aduventure, a former conspiracy had been on foot against the state, wherein *Cateline* had likewise beene an Actor, whereof (before I proceede further) I will discourse with all truth to my utmost power.

## CHAP. 6.

1. *Cateline in suing for the Consulship is denied.* 2. *His first Treason discovered.* 3. *Piso is sent into Spaine.* 4. *The reasons: his death.*



**L**ullus, and *Marcus Lepidus* being Consuls, *P. Antronius* and *P. Silla* Consuls elect, were accused of bribery, and therefore fined & disgraced. Not long after, *Cateline* being in office, was also attainted for extortion, and prohibited to stand for the Consulship, for that according to Law hee could not

trauers the accusation, and giue in his name blamelesse within his time limited.

At the same time liued *G. Piso*, a young Gentleman, descended of Honourable parentage, but exceeding wilde, poore, and factious. Penury and euill education set his thoughts on working to inuouation.

2. About the Nones of December, *Cateline*, this yong Gentleman, and *Antronius*, laid their heads together, in the Capitoll to murder the two Consuls, *L. Torquatos* and *L. Cotta*: vppon the Kalends of Ianuary, and then, they two seizing on the Ensignes of honor and office, to poast away this *Piso* with an Army, for the retaining of both *Spaines* to their vses. Which complot being discovered, they deferred the second resolution of the murder vntill the

b Quicumq; magistratum petebat, nomen suum inuenire dare oportebat.

d S. superiorem, & inferiorem.

a Quod per ambitum, aut alia via sinistra ad magistratus pervenisse conuincuntur, et penas dabant, & a magistratu abire cogebantur.

c Corrupti facibus

the Nones of February. Then, they intended not the destruction of the two Consuls onely, but the destruction also of many of the Nobility. Wherein if *Cateline* had not made too much hast to Court, to haue giuen his complices the watch-word, without doubt, that day had produced the bloudest season, that euer the City of *Rome* had beheld, sithence the laying of her first foundations. The slow approach of the Conspirators, broke the neck of the intended enterprize.

f Præcinctore Italiae.

3. Notwithstanding *Piso* was sent Lord President into the hether-*Spaine*, not without the conniuaunce of *Marcus Crassus*, for that, he stood assured, that *Piso* was no small adueryary vnto the greatnesse of *C. Pompeius*.

4. Neither yet could the Lords of the Senate be taxed of improvidence, for intrusting the prouince to such a companion; for it was their pollicy to remoue so corrupt a member farre from the more sounder and vitall parts of the Commonweale; partly, for that they mistrusted, that many good men, might houer vnder the wing of his preferment; and partly, for that the power of *Pompey*, and his credit with the army, were (with reason) growne verie suspicious vnto the state. But this very *Piso*, in the midst of his journey, was slaine, by those horsemen ouer whom he commanded.

g Minus est, imperatorem iniustum esse, quam superbū: Minus, superbum esse, quā crudelem

Some gaue out, that the *Barbarians* could not digest this iniust, imperious, and cruell gouernment; Others, that those horsemen being the ancient followers of *Pompey*, & his faithfull seruitors, committed the murder not without his priuie: affirming, that the *Spaniards* neuer committed so execrable an homicide, & yet had indured many more seuerer Lieutenants. For our parts, we will leaue it, as we found it, and so end the Relation of this first Treason.

c Numquam conueniant, cum signū daret.

D

CHAP. 7.

## C H A P. 7.

1. Cateline exhorteth his complices to perseverance. 2. They require the conditions of the warre. 3. He giueth them satisfaction.



*C*ateline, as soone as he perceiued that those his complices (whom we nominated before,) were now assembled, although he had often dealt in particular with euery one of them, yet supposing it a point of no small regarde, to deale with them in general, now or neuer to settle their resoluti-

ons, retired himself into the remotest roome of his house: from whence, all strangers excluded, thus and thus he began his Oration.

*V*lesse my very soule were fully perswaded of your valors and constancies, it were impossible to hope that any Fortunate successe should second these our attempts, and those strong hopes of Liberty and power, whereof we account our selues in better part of possession, were idle, and to no purpose; neither I, for my part, would shew my selfe so vaine conceited, as thorough cowardise, or any giddy straine of a running wit, to let slip certainties in hope of incertaine aduentures. But for that, in many, and most important dangers, I haue alwaies founde you valourous and faithfull; as well, in those regards, hath my courage dared to aduenture, upon this worthy and most honorable action, as also for that it is now past dispute, that we are all alike ingaged, and must of necessity all drinke of one Cup, be it good or euill. And therefore, in general, to be all of one opinion, is the strongest bond of faith & friendship. What my resolutions are, you haue heretofore heard my priuate discourses, but euery day bringeth into my mind a new perplexity, with a desire to vnderstand, what course we shall run, vn-

lesse

lesse we our selues should now be resolute to purchase our own pardons. For since the Soueraignty hath diuolued, vnder the power and oppression of some few great men; Kinges and Tetrachs haue bin gladd to protest themselues their vassals: people and Nations haue paid them contribution; but as for the residue of vs the Nobility, how valourous, how good, how Noble or ignoble soeuer, we are accounted of but as the vulgar: deprived of Honor, and subiect to those, vnto whom, if right might take place, wee ought to be Lords, and to giue the Law. What should I say? All graces, offices, honour, and wealth, they assume vnto the selues, or at least al lieth at their dispose: To vs, is naught afforded, saue danger, denials, extents & misery: which disgraces, (O you my most valiant companions) I pray you relate, how long shall we suffer? Is it not more befitting our generous spirits, to die resolutely, then alwaies to leade a miserable and base life, subiect to the scorn of an vnderlings pride?

By the faith which I owe vnto God and the worlde, the victory is ours already in possession: youth is on our side, our hearts as couragious; with our enemies, all things are growne feeble and timorous, through age and abundance, we shall one ly but take care for the onset, time it selfe will second the progreffe.

Fellowes in Armes, what mortall creature, that hath but a scantling of human courage, can endure, to see these men to wallowe in wealth, laushly disbursed in Inning of Seas, & leuelling of mountaines, and our selues to want euen necessities of life? They, to be Lords of two or more goodly pallaces, we scarce to possess one roose, wherewithall to couer our Nakednesse: These are they, that haue naught to doe with their wealth, saue to bestow it on Pictures, Images, & imbossed furnitures: Old fashions are odious, yet pull they down their new Fabricks, and erect others more pleasing to their fancies. By all direct and indirect meanes they procure money, & oppress, and nethelisse their extreame expence is no diminution of their estates. But with vs, at home rageth ponerty, abroad waite executions: our credites are desperat, our hopes worse: What then, I beseech ye remaineth vs, saue a tormented con-

D 2

science,

science, worst of miseries?

Courage my Companions: Loe, that, that Liberty, which so long you haue expected, and so often implored, now calleth on your valours. And not it alone, for besides, you haue wealth, a iust cause, and honor on your sides. These are your Trophies of victory: Fortune wil haue it so. Let the quality of the Action, the opportunity of time, the greatnesse of the danger, & the inestimable spoiles of War, moue ye, more then my speech; be it at your choise, to vse me as your leader, or as a priuate souldier. I will neuer faile ye in Counsell or Action. And vnlesse my Genius deceiue me, I hope being Consul, to performe what I haue spoken, vnlesse your spirits bee so basely dejected, that you had rather liue in subiection, then commaund with Honour.

2. Notwithstanding the pithy and perswasive deliuerie of this Oration, those of the complot, which were in greatest distresse, and least confirmed in hopes, and yet beleeued, that plentifull aduancements could not but attende them vpon the trouble of the State; began to demande, that *Cateline* should giue them satisfaction, *What should be the condition of the War: what their rewards: what hopes induced him; what assistance they should relie vpon.*

3. Whereupon, hee protested generall acquittances, a proscriptions of the richer sort, Magistracies, Priesthoods, Pillage, and all other Reprisals, which the Liberty of war is accustomed to share vnto the pleasure of the victor. b

c For his Assistance, hee shewed them, that *Piso* in the hether *Spaine*, and *P. Sittus Nucerinus* in *Mauritania*, led sufficient forces, both ingaged in the plot, and both priuie of his counsels.

His Hopes were, that d *C. Antonius* would stand for the Consulship, and that he made no question, but to become his fellow in office; a man of his familiar and inwarde acquaintance, on all sides oppressed with necessities, and with him, in their Consulship, he would not faile to open the warr.

This done, hee began maliciously to slander all honest men, & by name to praise euery Varlet of his own crew: one

a Prior est conditio proscriptionum, quam exulum nam in exilio sunt tuti, illi nusquam.

d Quantum ad spem. Alij, Antonium, participem prioris coniurationis.

b Hec quantum ad premia. c Quantum ad auxilia.


one hee put in minde of his pouerty, another of his longing, some of the danger and disgrace incident, and many e of *Sillas* victory; at what time it was lawfull to make pillage of any thing that Lust could seize vpon.

Heerewith, obseruing their generall alacrity, he requested them to haue an especiall regard to satisfie his expectation, and so dismissed the assembly.

o Sperans consimile exitum Belli.

## CHAP. 8.

1. *Cateline* administred an Oath of secrecy. The manner, & reason. 2. *Q. Curius* described.

1.  N those daies liued some, who reported, that *Cateline* hauing finisht his speech in ministring the oth of confederacie to the creatures, began a carouse of wine brewed with humane blood. Whereof, when euery party after diuers execrations, had pledged him after the manner of solemn Sacrifices, then began he to lay open the very depth of his proiects, & to conceale nothing, to the intent, that euery one being alike guilty of others ingagement, they should perseuere the more constant each confederate to other.

Many againe, did account these, and many such like reports, as false and fabulous, deuised by them, who by aggravating the heynous offences of the traitours, did endeavour to extenuate the scandall afterwards imputed vpon *Cicero*, a by reason of the seuer punishment, inflicted vpon the offenders. b In regard of the greatnesse of the Ambiguity, we know not well what to asseme.

In the conspiracy was one *Quintus Curius*, by birth a Gentleman, but wholly addicted to dishonest courses & villanies, whom the *Censors* for his infamous life had de-

a Quia iuxta Romanos ciues interfici sine Lege.

b Et sic sermatur fides Historie, cuius prima lex est, ut sit vera.

deposed from the Senate. Nothing inferior to this mans vanity, was his rash and peremptory carriage: he could neither silence what he heard of other, nor bury in oblivion his priuat offences: taking no regard of his speech, or action.

He had long bin acquainted with *Fulvia*, an honourable Lady, to whome after hee perceiued that hee was but coldly welcome, (for that his present pouerty could not answere her his former liberality) hee resolved with himselfe to set al vpō boasts; somtime to promise mountains, sometime to menace her, and rather then faile, somtime to vse her more rudely, then hee had beene accustomed. But *Fulvia* agreed with these his insolencies, and vnderstanding the cause, how the common wealth stood indangered, vowed no secrecie, but onely suppressing the name of the reporter, reuealed vnto many of her acquaintance, where, and what, she heard of the conspiacie of *Cateline*.

This sudden report first wrought the minds of most men to inuest *M. T. Cicero*, with the honour of the Consulship: for before the greater part of the Nobility, stomacked his preferment, yea they were of opinion, that the place had bin polluted, if he (though deseruedly) being no Gentleman by descent, had managed that high place of dignitie. But vppon the approach of the storme, enuy, and Pride, lay buried in silence.

Whereupon the day of election being come, *M. Tullius* and *C. Antonius* were saluted Consuls; which verie creation did at first breake the hearts of the Conspirators. But the rashnes of *Cateline* was neuer the more asswaged: euey day he went more forward then other; he prepared armor, and distributed it in places of greatest importance throughout *Italy*: he tooke vp as much mony as the credite of his friends, or his owne assurance could procure, causing it to bee conueyed to one *Manlius* at *Fesule*, who afterward acted a principal part in the rebellion.

It was reported, that at that time he laboured men of all fashions, yea and some women, who after their commodities

were of no worth, by reason that age had put a period to their fees, but not to their riot, were become deeply indebted.

By these, *Cateline* stood in good hopes to draw in the flauies of the City, to fire the Towne, to vnite their husbands to the action, or otherwise, to murder them.

Amongest these was *Sempronia*, a Woman that had committed many virile outrages, aboue the creation of her sex. In birth and beauty commendable, in marriage and issue fortunate, well seene in the Greeke and Latine languages, and more curious-cunning in musicke & dancing, then well might stand with the reputation of honesty. Adorned she was vwith many other qualities, but such, as vvere rather to be reckoned prouokements vnto Luxury, (yet more familiar vnto her disposition) then either fauoured of decency, or modest behaiour. It vvere harde to say, vvhether she vvere most prodigall, of her purse, or her honesty: so hot of constitution, that shee would sooner graunt, then stay the asking of a question: beewraying the confidence of those that trusted her, and perfidiousslie dealing with those that credited her: Guilty of murder, and spent by Luxury, the fore-runner of pueritie, without hope of recouery. Quicke Witted, a Versifier, frolicke, discourtsue vppon any vaine, modest, amorous, or swaggering; wholly giuen to iests and pleasaunt conceits.

## CHAP. 9.

I. *Cateline practiseth the death of Cicero.* 2. *Being disappointed, he resolueth to set all vpon hazard.* 3. *Cicero preserved by the intelligence of Fulvia.* 4. *Manlius ingageth the people of Hetruria.*

a *Dis His Conf. quos timuerat, creatis.*



**A**ffaires beeing thus ordered, *Cateline* notwithstanding his former repulse, resolueth yet once again for the next yeare to stand for the Consulship: wherein, if he sped, hee doubted not but to make vse of *Antonius* at his pleasure. Neither heere gaue hee ends to his discontents, but by all meanes sought the destruction of *Cicero*, a man as vigilant and as politicke as himselfe, to countermine his deuices; by great promises from the beginning of his Consulship, continually working with *Fulvia*, to procure *Q. Curius*, to lay open the deepest plot of the Conspiracie vnto her. And besides that, had firmly seized on the faith of *Antonius* his fellow in office (by the assurance and exchange of the gouernement of the<sup>b</sup> province) in no point to wauer for the good of his<sup>c</sup> country: a secretly and circumspectly causing his friends and followers to be respectiue of his safety.

2. The day of election being come, and that neyther his suite succeeded, nor his malices against the<sup>e</sup> *Consulles* preuailed, perceiuing that what he had politickely determined, was as cunningly frustrated; soorth-with, hee resolueth vpon the two extreames; *Warre*, and *Hazard*, and thereupon setteth vp his rest.

Whereupon, he dispatcheth *C. Manlius* vnto *Fesule* & the Countrey therabouts. One *Septinius Camertes* hee sendeth

b *Vnde plus lucri, qua ex urbe Conf. obueniret, melius inde inopia sua consulere.*  
d *Ne videretur etiam regnum assidue, aut seditionem fouere.*

c *Minus commodi ex provincia, quam ex factione Cateline consequi non potuit.*

e *Ambos, postquam viderat Antonis contra temp. nulla sentire.*

sendeth into the borders of the *Piceni*, and *C. Julius* hee posteth to *Apulia*, and finally giueth instructions to others of his Complices, euery man to betake himselfe vnto thole quarters, wherein he thought his ability could afford the best meanes for his purpose. At *Rome* hee giueth orders for his weightiest proiects: some he comandeth to lie in wait for the *Consuls*; som to prepare wild-fires; & others, to disperse their armed followers in places of best oportunity: he himselfe standeth vpon his guard. These he commandeth and entreateth, to be ready at an instant, to be vigilant, to spare no pains, by night nor by day, to haue an eie vpon all occasions; & finally, not to be deiected by the vncustomed trauailes of watching & labor. At length, revolving in his mind, that his care of execution, had bin nothing inferior to his directions, and yet of many, not one seconded expectation; once again he summoneth the chief of the conspiracy by *M. Porcius Lecca*: When, being assembled, he findeth himselfe much agreed at their backwardnes; sheweth them, how for his part he hath dispatched *Manlius* to thole troops, who long before he had prepared for armes: how he quartered others through the fittest places of the Citie, vpon the first watch-word ready to enter into Action: & that now his chiefest desire was to take his journey towards the Army, if *Cicero* were dispatched, the only obstacle to all their proiects. At this speech, his Auditory being at their wits ends, and obiecting many difficulties; at last *C. Cornelius* & *L. Vargunteius*, the one a Knight, the other a Senator, vndertook the performance; deuising, a little after Twilight, with their armed seruants, by way of durie, to go visit the *Consull* at his own house, whereinto beeing admitted, they protested suddenly to murder him being vnprovided, & least of al suspecting any such intention. 3. *Quintus Curius*, no sooner vnderstood, vnto what eminent danger the life of the *Consull* stood exposed, but as swiftly hee flieth vnto *Fulvia*, and reuealeth vnto her the intended execution. Vpon intelligence whereof the traitors receiuing a denial of entrance, this their most heinous intention of murder sorted likewise to no conclusion.

4. Mean while notwithstanding, *Manlius* aeth his part in *Hetruria*, & stirreth vp the Commons, desirous enough

of themselves of innoation, in remembrance of their poverty & hard vsage; for that in the vsurpation of *Silla*, they had bin pillaged of al they had, lads, goods, & necessities. And besides, that the prouince swarmed with theenes & outlawes, wherof many of the were of the *Colonies* of *Silla*, to whom riot & Luxury had left nothing of their late rich & extortious booties remaining. *Cicero* being possessed of these intelligences, & hauing his thoughts troubled with ambiguous resolutions, for that neither by his priuate possibilities he could longer secure the city frō danger, nor be truly instructed what forces *Manlius* had leuiued, nor who should be his abettor: he referred the determining of the busines to the wisdoms of the Lords of the Senat, inforcing his informations & inducemēts vpon the general rumors & reports of the people. They againe (as in times of wonted dangers) giue the Consuls authority to prouide, that the state through their defaults suffred no damage, according to the anciēt customs of the *Roman* people. This verbal forme of authority, comitted to the<sup>d</sup> soueraigne magistrate by the Senat, hath at al times bin very powerful: for hereby, hath he sufficiēt warrant, to leuy an army, to make war, to asseſse confederats, Lord chief Iustice in peace, L. general of the war; otherwise, without the especial permission of the people, no *Consull* might be suffred to exercise the meanest of these roialties. Som few daies after *L. senius* a Senator, shewed forth certain letters at the counſel table which he receiued frō *Fesula*, & imported, that *C. Manlius* had bin in armes with no cōtemptible forces, before the 6. day of the *Kalends* of *Nov.* Besides (no strange thing in like cases) one discoursed of wōders, another of prodigies, som talked of *Conuenticles*, others of secret prouisions of furnitures: som reported that the slaues wer vp in *Capua*, others in *Apulia*. Wherupon by an act of Senat, *Q. Martius* is dispatched to *Fesula*, & *Q. Metellus Creticus* into *Apulia* & the bordering countries. These two hauing born the office of L. generals, had beene denied their deserued triumphs through the city, by the malicious calumnies of som such, to whom it was familiar to set sutes of al natures, to open sales. The two *Prators*, *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, and *Q. Metellus Celer*, had their commissions, the one for *Capua*, the other

<sup>d</sup> Dictatoris edictum promunne semper obsequium

<sup>e</sup> Abs quo non licet promouere, aut ad alium iudicem appellare.

for the *Piceni*, with authority likewise, for that time, & the diuersion of this daunger, to inroll an Army. Moreouer, proclamation was made, that if any man could giue in true information of this Conspiracy, intended against the safety and Maieſty of the state, that he should be well and honestly rewarded: A Slave, to receiue liberty, and one<sup>b</sup> hundred thousand *Seſterces*: A free man his pardon, and two hundred thousand *Seſterces*. And lastly, they made a decree, that in *Capua*, and the residue of the suspected burroughs, euery housholder should entertain the companies<sup>c</sup> of the Fencers, euery man in proportion, according to his ability. At *Rome*, thorough the whole City, the Bourgers kept watch and ward, vnder the command of inferior officers. At which nouelties the Citty stood amazed, & the countenance of the inhabitants dejected. Instead of iollity and retchlesnesse, of which, assiduity of ease and security, had in a manner promised perpetuity, forthwith entered all kinds of passions and distemperature: one made speed to prouide for his priuate safety, another trembled & had no power to resolue vpon any course. Som doubted their welfare in their owne houses, and others could not determine in whom to repose any answerable confidence. The times they could not terme peaceable, neither doubted they the warre: and therefore feare measured out euery man his danger, according to his owne apprehension. The womē, to whom, in regard of the long prosperity of the state, the rumors of war were inaccustomed, bewailed their fortunes, stretched their hands towards heauen, cōpassionated their litle ones, instanced the Gods, feared al things, and vtterly forgetful of their yesterdaies pride & nicities, now distrusted the safety of themselves and their country. Notwithstanding, the cruel and vnrelenting mind of *Cateline* stood resolute, yea, though his eie were his witnes of opposition & preuention, & that himself had bin in examination before *L. Paulus* vpon the stature<sup>d</sup> *Plautia*. At last, either to set a good face on the matter, or to answere the objected accusation, as a man touched in honour, hee entrench the Senate. When, *M. Tullie* the *Consull*, either fearing his presence, or being mouued at his shamelesse impudency,

<sup>b</sup> 250 pounds.

<sup>c</sup> Ne tumultum mouerent vt antea sub Spetico factum est.

<sup>d</sup> Qua accusati conuentionis, statim respondere & se purgare cogebantur.

E 2

made



made an excellent and profitable Oration, which afterwards he put forth in writing.

As soone as he had taken his place, being by Nature of a prepared disposition to dissimulation, with a submissive countenance, and a futable low voice, he began to request the Lords, not rashly to beleue whatsoeuer his ill-willers suggested against a man of his Ranke: That from his Adolency hee had behaued himselfe so, as in Honour they could not but make good constructions of his carriage: That they could not but wrong his calling, (sithence both himselfe and his Auncesfors had wel deserued of the state) once to imagine that he would practise the destruction thereof, when such a one forsooth, *M. Tullius Cicero*, an vpstart and a stranger, should labour to preferue it.

In the highest of which his calumnious expostulations, the whole Senate interrupted him, protesting him a Traitor and a parricide to his Countrey. Then all enraged, (quoth he) *Sithence I am violently ouer-borne by the furie of mine enemies, nothing but ruine shall put an end to this quarrell.* And thereupon, leauing the Court, he retired to his house. Where, reuoluing with himselfe, that neither the intended murder of the *Consull* sorted to purpose, neither that the firing of the City could be effected, by reason of the stronge watches: foreseeing now, that but one onely course, and that of bad the best was left him, which was, to reenforce his army, & to take vp whatsoeuer warlike prouision was necessary for his people, before the state had leuied their armed Legions; at midnight in the company of a few, he taketh his journey towards the campe of *Manlius*: before his departure, intreating and commaunding *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, and the most desperate of the crewe, by all meanes possible to containe the faction in strength and vigour, to hasten the death of the *Consull*, to be resolute, for slaughter, fire, and the like miseries of war; for within a day or two he would not faile to approch the City with a powerfull army.

These were the passages at *Rome*: from the Campe *C. Manlius* had sent certain Agents of his rout vnto *Q. Martius*, with these Ouertures.

*Quia patria charior quam parens nobis debet esse, ideo Catelina in patriam conuictus, hic parricide dicitur.*

## CHAP. IO.

1. The Letters of *Manlius* to the Generall. 2. His answere.  
3. Catelines colourable excuse of his iourney. 4. His letter to the contrary.



Call God and Man (most Woorthy Generall) to witnes, that we haue taken Armes neither against our Country, neither to the perrill of any priuate subiect, but onelie to free our needy and miserable carcasses from iniuries from violence, and the oppression of Usurers: the most of vs not daring to shewe our faces in our owne Countrey, and all of vs in generall without credit or reliefe. In which estate, it was not lawfull for any of vs (according to the freedome of our Ancestors) to prosecute the clemencie of our auntient Lawes: neither (hauing forgotten our Patrimonies) to keep our bodies from imprisonment; so rigorously hath the Usurer and the Prator oppressed vs.

In former times, the compassion of our Elders, hath often acquitted the disabilities of the Romaine people by actes of Parliament: And euen but \* yesterday in our remembrance, by the generall applause of all good men, order hath bin taken, by reason of the excessiue interest, to pay the principall out of the publicke Treasury: yea, the very Comminaltie, either seduced by desire of superiority, or underhand armed by the Ambition of Great men, hath often disunited it selfe from the Vnion of the Fathers: but we (neither Ambitious of Empery, nor desirous of Riches) the motives of all Warres & discourtesies amongst mortall Creatures, request onely Liberty, the want whereof, no honest man can tollerate, but with the losse of his deere life.

Wherefore, vpon our bended knees we intreat your worthinesse, together with the Lordes of the Senate, to prouide for our



our miseries, and to restore vs to that aduantage of Lawe, of the which the partiality of the Prator hath defrauded vs: not inforcing vs iniuriouly to that desperate extremity, wherein we can but onely study howe to satiate our insatiable swordes with execution of deepest reuenge.

2. To these *Q. Martius* made no other aunswere, but that, if they expected fauour from the Lords of the Senate, they should not implore it in armed manner, but submissiue to trauell to *Rome*, where they might be assured, to finde such clemency and curtesie before the Lordes of the Senate, and the *Roman* people, as neuer any man yet importuned their mercy, that departed away at any time vnpardoned.

3. But *Cateline* from diuers stages in his iourney<sup>b</sup> dispatcheth away Letters to many of the *Consulare* dignity, and to euery gentleman of quality; besides, intimating therby, that (since he was not of power to make his party good, against the faction of his Aduersaries, who most falsly and maliciously had suggested many slanderous accusations against him) hee was contented to yeilde to time, and to choose *Masilia* for the place of his voluntary exile; not for that, forsooth, he was any way guilty of so heinous an imputation, but for the good and welfare of the state; least by his presence, peradventure some seditious partiality might arise in the state.

Contrary vnto these *Q. Catulus* read other Letters before the Lords of the Senat, which (as he affirmed) were dated vnto him vnder the name of *Cateline*. The

Transcript whereof follo-  
weth.



*Pro salua miseria  
nullam sperare sa-  
lutem.*

*Pro incautos oppri-  
meret.*

*Proberem, an equis-  
simo federe Ro-  
manis continerem*

*L. Cateline to Q. Catulus*  
health.



Hy assured constancie, by triall experimented, and in my most weighty daungers neuer omitted, hath confidently warranted these my commendations vnto thine vnspotted loyalty. For what reasons, I listed not, to frame my defence in that new Counsel, I am now determined to yeelde you satisfaction; & that, not out of a guilty conscience, which vpon mine honour I protest to be true, but being first prouoked by iniurious disgraces; for that being denied the rewardes of my labours and deserts, I could not obtaine the place of dignity duely diuolued to me, according vnto my wonted custome. I haue now taken vpon me the publicke defence of the oppressed people; not for that, out of mine owne reuenewes I could not satisfie my owne debts, since the onely liberality of *Aurclia Oristilla* and her daughter, was not onely sufficient to discharge my selfe and my sureties; but for that I obserued men of no worth to be preferred to places of honor, and my selfe vpon false suggestions, too iniuriouly reiectet. Vpon these terms I make no question, but to be able to preserue the remainder of my reputation. I was determined to haue written more at large, but I was informed, that warrant, were out to attach me. I not onely commend, but also intrust vnto thy loyalty *Oristilla*: Defend her from wrong, (I beseech thee,) euen for the loue of thy deere children, Farewell.

## CHAP. II.

1. *Cateline commeth to the camp of Manlius.* 2. *The estate of Rome and the bordering Countreyes after his departure.*

1.



Vt *Cateline* hauing made some small stay with *C. Flaminius* in the country <sup>a</sup> of *Aretium*, and leauing the City (before prepared) well fortified, departeth towards the campe of *Manlius*, accompanied with the *Fasces*, and other the *Ensignes* of Ho-

nour. Vppon intelligence whereof at *Rome*, the Senate proclaimeth *Cateline* and *Manlius* Traitors. To the residue of their partakers they limit a day, by which, if they surceased their armes, <sup>b</sup> all offences past were pardoned, except to those, who by name were condemned of Treason.

The Consuls themselues were commanded to leuy forces: *Caius Antonius* with al expedition to pursue *Cateline*, & *Cicero* to guard the City.

2. At that time, in my iudgement, the condition of the *Roman* people appeared most miserable: Vnto whome, notwithstanding that all places from East to West were subiect by Armes, and that at home they wallowed in ease and riches (the onely two contents which all flesh affecteth:) yet fostered they within their owne bowels a viperous consort of fellow-Citizens, who rather then they would surcease the obstinacie of their priuate Humours, cared not what became of themselues and their country. For, after the two proclamations, diuulged by authority from the Senate, it was not knowne that anie one man of such a multitude, neither for lucre of the proposed reward, reuealed any part of the conspiraey, neither

<sup>a</sup> *Ciuitas municipalis in Etruria.*

<sup>b</sup> *Quod prudentia  
S. factum est, ut  
sine periculo reip.  
principes coniurationis punirentur.*

vppon

vpon assurance of pardon, sought to shie from the partie. So desperat a contagiō of reuolt, like to a Pestilential Feauer had possessed the minds of the greater part of the people; and worse then that, the zeale of those, who were guilty of the proiect, was not onely estranged, but the Vniuersal body of the Commons in affectatiō of nouelties, did as farforth as they durst, allow of the busines. But this could be rearmed no new accident; for in all Commonweales, you shall euer finde some (who haue little to lose) to mallice their betters, to speake well of the wicked, to mislike the present, to affect nouelties, and in contempt of their owne Fortunes, to desire change. In tumults and vprores they take least care for their liuings; how euer the world goes, they can be no loofers.

But the Comminalties of Citties were led vpon other respects and diuersity of occasions: First, all those who were infamous for life and behauiour; secondly, such as had wasted their stockes; And lastly, those that durst not shew their heads for some notorious offences, (these I say) flocked into *Rome*, as into a common receptacle.

In the next ranke followed such as had not yet forgotten *Sillas* victory; some of their companions they beheld raised from the degree of common souldiers, to the honor of Senators: Others, so aduanced in wealth, that thereby they were now inabled to maintaine a bountifull Table, and to weare rich apparrell. If the matter were once again triable by Armes, euery one hoped to share in like Fortune. As for those strong and youthfull bodies, whose hāds could scarcely find them a liuing by the day labour of the plough, (and in that respect had their fingers itching to be dealing in priuate and publicke rewards) were soon inticed to preferre the idle games of the city, before the thriflesse roile of the country: such were the hopes both of these & the former; the publicke spoile was the mark they al shot at. So that (as before) it is no new matter, to see the poorest, basest, and worst-bred sort of people, to expect spoile and their owne enrichment, by the generall confusion of the state.

F

Yet

Yet remained they whose parents the victory of *Silla* had proscribed, defrauded of their goodes, and dispossessed of their freedoms; These, as the residue, lived likewise in hope to purchase some better fortune by the event of this warre.

Lastly, whosoever was of any other faction, save that of the Senate, did rather in his hart wish more welfare to the league, then good to the state. Thus forepassed corruptions, after many yeares, began again to returne into the City.

For after the Tribunitiall authority (*G. Pompeius* & *M. Crassus* being *Consuls*), was restored, certaine young men (whose blood was hot, and their courages violent) preferred to soueraigne iurisdiction, began, by accusing the Lords of the Senate, first, to subborne the Commons, and afterwards, by bribes and promises to prouoke them to furie.

Thus they gate them a name, and were mighty in the state. Against these men (vnder the protection of the Senat,) the Maior part of the Nobility stoutly opposed, to reaine their pristinate greatnesse. For to speake truth in a word, after these times, whomsoever ambition perswaded to trouble the state, he would be sure to colour his pretext with an honest title; as som, *The defence of Liberty*, others *The reuerent authority* of the Senae.

Euery one pretended the common good, whilst hee tooke most care to raise his priuate estate, and that without all modesty or measure: In contention, either side vied their victories without any indifferency.

But after that *C. Pompeius* had his Commissions for the Warre at Sea, and against *Methridates*, the *Plebeian* power fainted & the *Greatnes* of a few increased, who immediately seized vpon Magistracies, Prouinces, and all other offices: Fearelesse of Competitors, Honourable in Titles, and growne old without any touch of aduersitie. The inferiour sort they terrified with exemplarie punishments, the better to keepe them in awe of their Superiority.

But

c Sub prelatu boni publici.  
Sic Virg.  
Contingunt vocari:  
hoc prelatu nomen culpam. &c.

d Contra piratas,  
quos intra Quindagesimos dies  
subegit.

But vpon the first budding of innouation, their prestinate prerogatiues brought passed forances to remembrance. Wherein, if in his first attempt, *Cateline* had had the better, or at least had departed vpon equall termes, without contradiction, a miserable misfortune and calamity had befallen the Common-wealth. For assuredly, the Conquerors should not long haue triumphed of their victorie, a stronger party<sup>b</sup> being prepared & determined to bereaue the weake, weary, and wounded conspiratour of his new purchased command and victory. There were many men besides, that knew nothing of the conspiracie, and yet in the beginning associated *Cateline*. Amongst these, was *Fulnius*, the sonne of a *Senatour*, whom being retired, the father nethelesse commanded to execution.

b Sic Augustus triumphabit de Antonia & Lepido.

## CHAP. 12.

1. *Lentulus* in the absence of *Cateline*, to his utmost strengtheneth the faction. 2. *Vmbrenus* acquainteth the French Ambassadors with the Plot. 3. *Sanga* (an Intelligent) cunningly procureth a draught of the confederacie.

1.



Eane time *Lentulus* (acording to his instructions deliuered him by *Cateline*) solliciteth by himselfe, or his Agents, whosoever in his imagination conceited either of dissolutenesse of manners or pennurie, an apt instrument to entertain nouelties: and heerein, he not onely practiseth with Citizens, but generally with all sorts of creatures; provided, that their seruice might any way stand in sted for the warre. Whereupon he dealeth with *Vmbrenus* to found the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, & if he possibly could, to draw them to the action: which he conceited might with no great difficulty bee effected:

F 2

first,

a Strabo Quorum metropolis erat vigenna civitas in Delphi natu.

first, because he knew them to be deeply indebted, aswell for their state, as for their priuate vses; and secondly, for that the French Nation by nature is inclinable to listen to ianouation.

This *Vmbrenus*, for that he had Traffiqued in *Fraunce*, did know, and was knowne vnto most of the principal gouernours of the Citties, so that immediately after meeting with the Legates in the common Hall, hee began to question them of the estate of their city, and (in a manner condoling their hard aduenture) beganne to aske them, what remedy they expected to cure such, so great and insufferable greeuances.

For answer whereunto, when hee obserued, that by their complaints they taxed the Magistrates of Auarice, and accused the Senate, as neglectiue of their redresse, & that they hoped for no release but by death: *Why then my Masters* (quoth he) *if you will but shewe your selues men, I will teach you, how you shall easily acquit your selues of these euils.* The *Allobroges* no sooner herd him to vse these speeches, but they importune *Vmbrenus*, that hee would take compassion of their miseries, protesting no commaunde to be so difficult or dangerous, but they would attempt it with earnest resolution, so as the performace might make satisfaction for the debts of their city.

Heereupon he conducteth them to the house of *Decius Brutus*, adioyning to the Towne-house, a man not altogether vnacquainted with the complot, by reason of his wife *Sempronia*: but at this time out of towne.

Heere, to adde further credite to his speeches, hee sendeth for *Gabinus*. In his presence he relateth the full proiect of the Conspiracie, and nominateth the associates, and amongst them he interposeth the names of many of all degrees; yea, Innocents, the readier to giue courage and assurance to the mis-informed Legates: Then taking his leaue with promise of his utmost seruice, he dismissed them home.

The *Allobroges* stood long doubtfull, vpon what to resolve: On one side, their great debts, their inclination to warre,

*Q. d. mors ultima  
lina rerum.*

warre, and the hope of rich spoiles presented secrecy: but on the other side, a stronger party, a safer course, & more assured rewards (in lieu of vncertaine hopes) perswaded discouery.

In middest of which their ambiguous reuolutions, at last, by good hap the consideration of the comonwealth fortunately preuailed.

3. And so with speed they fully discovered what they had heard, vnto *Q. Fabius Sanga*, a man vnto whose seruice the City had stood much beholden. And *Cicero* vnderstanding by *Sanga*, how farre forth matters had passed, commaunderth the Agents to dissemble an extraordinary affection to the plot; to take a more strict occasion of acquaintance with the residue; to protest good liking and Constancy, and by all means so to diue into the secrettest of the businesse, that, when time shoulde serue, they might be able to giue in a most cleare euidence.

### CHAP. 13.

1. Metellus and Murena preuent the Conspirators in their Lieutenantships. 2. The wicked and desperate conclusions of Traitors.



THIS very instant diuers commotions were afoot; in the further and hether *Gallia*, in the Countrey of *Piceni*, amongst the *Bruttians*, and in *Apulia*. For those, whom *Cateline* had at first dismissed & dispersed, now like mad men without forecast or consideration, began to make night-assemblies, to dispose of armour and weapons, to hasten their dispatches, to disquiet all places, and that with more shew of feare, then appearance of daunger. Of this rout

*Quintus*

*Quintus Metellus Celer* the Prætor, by authority from the Lords of the Senate, had committed diuers to prison vpon examination: The like did *Caius Murena*, Lieutenant of the hether *Gallia*.

2. But at *Rome*, *Lentulus* had plotted with the chieft of the Conspiracy, that as soone as intelligence came, that *Cateline* had openly shewed himselfe in armes in the Territory of *Fesula*, that forthwith *L. Bestia* being Tribune of the people, should in the midst of their vnited forces, in a set and premeditated Oration, disgracefully complain vpon the actions of *Cicero*, and by iniurious imputation, maintaine the Originall of this most vnkind war, to haue first proceeded from the mallice of this most worthy *Consull*. This was the precedent Watch-word, whereby the residue of the Conspirators the night next insuing, should euery man dispose of his imposed charge: which was said to bee thus ordered. That *Statilius* and *Gabinus* with a strong retinue, had in command to fire the City in twelue such places of opportunity, as should by concurrence of people thereunto, giue best and easiest meanes of access to dispatch their other intended executions, vpon the *Consull* and his associates. That, *Cethegus* should attend his gate, and charge him resolutely with his forces. That no man should be vnemployed but rather, then any villanie should be left vnattempted, they wrought with the children of their acquaintance, (the greatest number whereof were of the Nobility) to slay their owne parents: that so, all places being in confusion, and all persons amazed with fire and slaughter, they might without opposition, troope towards *Cateline*.

Amidst these conclusions and executions, *Cethegus* incessantly taxeth the cowardice of his Companions, complaining that betwene their doubts and delaies, opportunity to doe great matters, ouerslipped their fortunes: that now beeing so deeply engaged, it were more then time to do, and not to talke: that himselfe, if some fewe would assist, (though the general fainted,) would giue the onset on the whole Court. The man by nature was fierce, sudden,

Lucan *Tolle moras  
nocuit semper dis-  
serre paratis.*

sudden, and quick in execution, resolving with himselfe that all good fortune attended expedition.

## CHAP. 14.

1. The Allobroges prosecute according to Ciceroes directions. 2. The project succeedeth. 3. *Lentulus* arraigned.



Vt the *Allobroges*, by the instructions of *Cicero*, intreat *Gabinus* to assemble his nominated companions; At what titme they require an oth of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius* and *Cassius*, which they would vnder Seale present vnto their Countrey-men; for otherwise, it were not likely, that without credence they would inconsiderately enter into to dangerous an Action. All of them, saue *Cassius*, mistrusting no deceit, held it reasonable: He craueth absence, & promiseth speedy returne, but in truth departeth the city somewhat before the *Allobroges*.

At their departure, *Lentulus* sendeth in their companie one *Titus Vulturcius* of *Croton*, with instructions to take *Cateline* in their way homeward, & with him face to face by reciprocal oths, to confirm this their new ingagement. By him he alio datheth his Lettets to *Cateline*, the Tenour whereof, is as followeth:

*Who I am, you shall vnderstand by the messenger, that I send vnto you. Forget not vpon what tearmes your welfare now dependeth, and remember to play the man: Consider the nature of your businesse, and scorne not to implore assistance of any man; yea, of the meanest.*

Then he insinuateth by word of mouth, that sithence he is proclaimed Traitor by authority from the Senat, he should seriously debate vpon what confidence hee should for-

S. vide tutore  
gredi nequeat.

forlake or abandon the seruice of the Slaues: that in the City, his directions were at point of execution, & therefore, that hee should not faile to make all his approaches with all possible celerity.

All matters being thus ordred, and *Cicero* fully instructed by the Agents, he commaundeth *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *C. Promptinius* Prætors, vpon the appointed night of the departure of the *Allobroges*, to set a secret and strong watch on the *Miluiam* bridge, authorizing them to attach whomsoeuer they found traueiling more then their owne company: and therewithal maketh them priuy, for whose sake, and vpon what considerations he inioyneth them this charge; other occurrences he committed to time and their discretions, and so dismissed them with their limited forces: they againe without tumult, dispose of their watches, and secretly, according to their charge beset the bridge on all sides.

Assoone as the Agents with *Vulturcius* approached the place, and the vsuall question on both sides demaunded, the *Galles* presently apprehending the meaning, forthwith yeelded their bodies to the Officers: But *Vulturcius*, at first incorageth his company, draweth his sword, & defendeth himself against the multitude: but afterward finding himselfe forsaken of the Agents, he began to capitulate with *Promptinius* (his auncient acquaintance) vpon pointes of good vsage; but after that growing fearefull, and distrusting his life, he yeelded simply to the Prætors, as to a professed enemy, which businesse is no sooner thus ended, but word thereof is forthwith carried to the Consull.

Him infinit cares and infinit ioyes do ioyntly possesse: he reioyced vpon true grounds, for that the suspicion of the Conspiracy was now made euident, and thereby the Common-wealth as good as already deliuered: he grew pensiué, for that, he could not resolue what course to take, such men, of such ranke and quality being appeached of so heynous a Treason. He well foresaw, that punishment would procure him scandall; and Pardon, his Countreys ruine.

But

But taking courage vnto him, he commaundeth *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinus*, & *Q. Cæparius* also (who was euen now boored and spurd for his iourney into *Apulia*, there to moue the bond-slaues) to appeare before him. All saue *Cæparius*, obey without excuse: hee, by chaunce being abroad, and hearing of the aduenture, flyeth. The Consull hand in hand leadeth *Lentulus* (for that hee had bin Prætor) into the Senate. The residue he willet vnder safe custody to appeare in the Temple of *Concorde*: whether hee summoneth the Senate, and there before a general assembly of the Lords, presenteth *Vulturcius* with the Agents. Then commaundeth hee *Flaccus* to open the Packet, which vpon the way hee tooke from the *Allobroges*, which being read, *Vulturcius* was demaunded: first, the cause of his iourney, and who gaue him those letters: and lastly, who was of Counsell with him in the businesse.

At first, he began to excuse and conceale many points touching the Conspiracy: at last, vpon promise of pardon by publique oath, he discloseth all things as they had passed; protesting that he as a companion was sent for but a few daies before, and that hee could say no more, then could the Agents, but onely, that he had heard from the mouth of *Gabinus*, that *P. Antonius*, *Seruius Silla*, and *L. Vargunteius*, with many more were priuie to the Conspiracy. The *Galles* affirmed as much.

3. The Lords accused *Lentulus*, (who stood stiffe in deniall) that besides these Letters, he had bin often heard to vouch certaine veries out of the *Sibels*: that *The Soueraignty of Rome*, was destined vnto three *Cornelij*, whereof *Cinna* and *Silla* were two, himselfe the third, whome fate would haue to be sole-Lord of the City. Morrouer, since the burning of the Capitoll, that this was the twentieth yeare, which the prodigies of the *Aruspices* prognosticated a yeare of blood and ciuill discord.

Whereupon, the Letters being read, and euery man confessing and acknowledging his scale, the Lords passed sentence, that *Lentulus* should be degraded, and together

G

with

with the residue, committed to honourable custody: *Lentulus* to *P. Lentulus Spinther*: then *Aedile*, *Cethegus*, to *Q. Cornificius*: *Statilius* to *C. Caesar*: *Gabinus* to *M. Crassus*: and *Ceparius* (by pursute lately taken) to *Gn. Terentius* a Senator.

## CHAP. 15.

1. The Humour of the Commons in cases of daunger. 2. *M. Crassus* is accused: how cleared. 3. *Caesar* accused: the causes.



He Commons constant, in inconstancie, & who at first in their inherent dispositions to nouelties, wished well to the war; now as soon as the plot was discovered, with change of opinions, chaunged likewise their prayers into curses against *Cateline* and his Counsels, extolling *Cicero* to the heauens, and as people newly redeemed into liberty, made publicke demonstrations of ioy and iollity; amplifying the conceits of their happinesse in this, that whereas all forraine Warres, are managed rather for spoyle then ruine: the resolution of fire was cruell, mercilesse, & most miserable, because it neither spared the beauty of their houses, neither the daily necessities of their bodies therein contained.

After this, one *L. Tarquinius* was brought before the Lords of the Counsell, being taken (as men sayd) in his journey towards *Cateline*. Who vpon assurance of the publicke faith, protesting to reueale what hee knew, touching the conspiracy, in a maner reuealed the same things which *Pulsurtius* before had discouered, concerning the

a Virg. Similitur  
incertum studia in  
contraria vulgus.

b Quibus quotidie  
viebantur.

preparation of wild-fire, the slaughter of Innocents, and the iourney of the conspirators: but withall, that hee was sent by *Marke Crassus*, to with *Cateline* not to be any thing troubled at the apprehension of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, & the residue of the Conspirators, but the rather to redouble his hast of approach towards the city, both to reuiue the declining courages of those that fainted, as also, to worke deliuerance to those that were in durance.

But after that *Tarquinius* had appeached *Crassus*, to Noble a Personage, so rich, and so powerfull; some at no hand would beleue it: but otherfom, though they thought it to bee true, yet considering the times, & their priuate engagements, and the greatnesse of the man (rather to bee winked at, then any way exasperated) gaue a generall censure, that the accusation was false; and so prayed the matter to be adiourned to another season. Whereuppon, by the approbation of *Cicero*, the more part of the Lords decreed, that the information of *Tarquinius* was false, that he should be committed vnto prison, without allowance of making his further Purgation, vnlesse he would disclose by whose counsell and aduice, he had bin seduced, to frame so notorious and false a scandall.

Some were of opinion, that this accusation was first deuised by *P. Antonius*, of policy (by ingaging *Crassus* as a companion in danger) to protect the residue as copartners of like fauour.

Others reported, that *Tarquinius* was sent abroad by *Cicero*, to deter *Crassus* from entertaining his accustomed defence of euil causes, to the disquiet of the state. And, I my selfe haue heard *Crassus* avouch, that this was a trick of *Cicero*, to bring him into vtter defamation and scandall.

3. At the same time *Q. Catulus* and *Gn. Piso*, exceedingly laboured *Cicero*, falsely to appeach *Caesar*, either by the *Allobroges*, or any other witness; but they could neuer effect it, neither by intreaty, by flattery, nor bribery: both these persons, at that time did deadly hate him; *Piso* for that *Ple-*

c Ob. d. d. d. d. d.  
constr. a. p. m. a.



*na curia* he had beene condemned in damages for an vnjust punishment inflicted vpon a certaine Transpadan. *Catulus* tooke it to heart, for that, being an old man, and borne the most Honourable Offices in the state, nowe in his suite for the Pontificacy, hee should bee opposed and displanted by *Cesar*, a young man. But the matter was excusable, for that his priuate Liberality, had procured him publicke friends, and by that meanes, infinite debts.

But being vtterly vnable to worke the Consull vnto so heynous a proiect; by priuate conference, and false suggestions, inforced what they hearde *Vulturius* and the *Allobroges* report, they prouoked euery mans euill opinion against him; so farforth, that many *Roman* knightes, which kept watch & ward before the *Temple of Concord*, either moued at the greatnesse of the danger, or inflamed by the Noblenesse of their minds, to manifest their loues to their Countrey, drew their irefull swords against *Cesar* as he arose from the Senate.

## CHAP. 16.

I. The condemnation of the Traytors. 2. *Cæsars* Oration.

These matters beeing thus debated in the Senate house, & the Lords as yet in Counsell about the bestowing of rewards vpon the *Allobroges* & *Vulturius*, with approbation of their testimonies, the freed men (with some few well-willers) of *Lentulus*, diuerfly solicited the Slaues & tradesmen of the City to rescue the Prisoner: Others of his familiars, inquired after the Ring-leaders of the Rascallie, who

who in such times were accustomed for money to disturb the peace of the City.

But *Cethegus* by Messengers, desired his acquaintance, his choicest freed men, and his readiest followers, now or neuer to be resolute, and in troop with their naked swords to make way for his rescue.

The Consull hauing vnderstanding of these designements, disposeth the Warders as time and place aduised, and assembling the Senate, demanded of the Lords, what order they pleased to take with those who were already attached and remained in prison. A full counsell had already declared them guilty of Treason.

Thereupon *D. Iunius Sillanus* (Consull elect) beeing first asked his opinion, what he would aduise concerning the Prisoners, as likewise howe the residue, in case they could bee apprehended, should bee censured; gaue sentence, that they should all suffer punishment. And afterward (being moued at the speech of *Cesar*) he protested that hee would singly auouch the sentence, with *Tiberius Nero*. As touching the Marshalling of secret companies, hee thought it fit to adiourne it to further deliberation: But *Cesar*, whose turne was nowe to speake, by request of the Consull, vsed this or the like Oration.

**H**onorable Fathers, it becometh all men, who are to consult of doubtfull cases, to be free from hatred, friendship, passion, and pity: where these contrarieties happen, the Iudgement can hardly make distinction betwene truth and falsehood: neyther liueth the man, which can flatter his affection, and iudge uprightly. Our inclinations followe our fancies: if Liberty possesse them, then Will predominateth & Reason is of no regard. Honorable Lords, my memory is yet very fresh, to relate what Kings, and what Nations, being seduced by wrath or pity, haue run unfortunate courses: But it is a greater pleasure vnto me, to relate how our predecessors governed their affaires orderly and iudiciously, by subiecting the fury of their passions, to the mild persuasions of Reason.

G 3

*L. Cassius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus & Q. Annius.*

*a Sic Maro: Neque ille aut doluit miseram inopem, aut inuidet habenti.*

*Et Cæsar ipsi posita contigit, qui per clementiam illi reperat, a quibus posset interfici.*

In



c Sub quibus clas-  
sem Romanam in-  
uaserunt, & quos  
caperet, virgis ca-  
ciderunt, & iam  
legati ad Scipionē  
missi, intacti ab eo  
ad Senatum sunt  
remissi, & inde in-  
columnes & inden-  
tes Carthaginem  
sunt reuersi.

In the Macedonian warre, which we managed with King Perseus, the stately and populer Citty of the Rhodians, (fa- moused by our assistance) became enemy and revolted from vs. The warre being ended, the question arose, in what manner the Rhodians should bee punished. Our Auncestors, least the world should giue out, that they made wars, rather for wealth then in reuenge of iniuries, freely pardoned their follies, So likewise, in all the Punique warres, when the Carthaginians both in times of peace & truces, had committed many out- rages, & our forefathers neuer gaue out Letters of reprisall, but alwaies studied rather what became their greatnesse, then what seuerity of Law or armes, required.

Honourable Lords, as I take it, this should be your case, let not the offences of P. Lentulus and his associates, more pre- uiaile with your passions, then becommeth the greatnesse of your callings: neither, let wrath be saide to eclipse your Ho- nourable reports. For if a sufficient punishment can be deu- sed to equalize their defaults, I cannot but approve this newe Counsell: But if the quality of the offence exceed all immagi- nation, then my opinion is, that they be punished according to the prescript forme of our ancient Lawes.

Many, who before mee haue spoken their minds, haue laide out in very eloquent and rhetorickall tearmes, the miserable e- state of the common wealth, the cruelty of Warre, the fortune of the conquered: agrauating their discourses with the rauish- ment of Virgins, the tearing of children from the bosomes of their parents, the abusing of Matrons, the robbing of Temples, the Pillaging of houses; withall, not forgetting to moue com- passion, and passion, by recitall of woundes, fieringes, armes, slaughtred carcasses, & bloody Funerals: Good Gad! to what end tended these their Orations, but to enflame your displea- sures against the offenders? As if any speech, could exasperate that dull spirit, whom the least remembrance of so heynous a Treason (of it self) could not irritate. A Suppositiō impossibill. Priuate iniuries take deepest impression, yea with some men deeper then reason should Warrant.

But Honourable Lords, in diuers men, diuers sorts of offen- ces are tollerable. To those that liue in inferiour callings, if

through

Iunc. Omne animi  
vitium tantū con-  
spectus in se crimē  
habet, quanto ma-  
ior qui peccat lia-  
betur.

thorough passion they commit an oversight, few obserue it: their eminences outshine not their fortunes: But the errorrs of great personages and men of quality, the whole Common- wealth doth forthwith take into examinatio. And this I speake, to prooue that highest Fortunes haue meaneest priuiledges to offend, neither ought they to be induced by fauour, nor moued by hatred, and least of all, to be guided by anger. That which the Vulgar terme Anger in meane men, with greater Persons is censured to be pride and cruelty.

Verily, (Honorable Fathers,) I am of this opinion, that no punishment, can bee answerable to the quality of their offen- ces: but the Natures of most men are giuen to remember the last ends of their familiars, and forgetting the fact, they com- ment on the punishments, if it neuer so little exceede mode- ration.

I cannot but acknowledge, that whatsoeuer the good and resolute D. Sillanus hath spoken, hath proceeded from zeale to his Country: and in this weighty businesse, I confesse, his integrity and modesty to be such, that thereunto, his Nature hath neither bin induced by flattery, neither overwrought by partiality. Neither can I iustly say, that his censure any way fauoureth of cruelty: for what can be tearmed cruell, that Iu- stice can inflict vpon such offenders. But surely, the president is not vsuall in our Common-wealth; and therefore, either feare, or priuate iniury hath overwrought thee, (ō Decius Sil- lanus Consull elect) to giue thy consent to this new forme of punishment.

Offeare, it were idle to discourse, since such strong as- sistance is in armes, by the especial prouidence of this our war- shy Consull. As touching the punishment, I can speake truely as the case now standeth: That to men in distresse and mi- fery, death is the end of sorrow, life a torment: Death dis- solueth al mortal misfortunes: Beyond, there is no remem- brance of griefe, nor place for ioy.

By the immortal Gods, I wonder, that in giuing your sen- tence, you did not giue direction, that first, they should bee whipped with rods: was it for that the Law Portia did forbid it? Or that you had regarde to some other, late Law? Why?

The

The Lawes do impose banishment, not death; but vpon a condemned Cittizen? Or was it, because you esteemed whipping to be a more greenous punishment, then beheading? If so, then what can be bitter or ouer-greenous against men convicted of so heinous a Conspiracy? But if you ouer-slipped the direction for stripes, as of a punishment too too gentle, how cometh it to passe then, that in the losse you make a conscience of equity, when in the greater, you proceede without doubt or scruple?

But why should any man be offended at that which is by Law decreed against Traitors to their Country? Time, alterations, and fortune, so powerfull amongst mortall Creatures, wil ratifie that nothing hath happened vnto these men beyond their deserts.

Many euill conclusions haue arisen from good Principles: as where the Helme hath bin intrusted to indiscreet and insufficient Pilots, these newe Presidents, haue bene commonly transferred from worthy and well-minded Cittizens, to base and incapable Ministers. So, the Lacedemonians hauing ouerthrowne the Athenians, committed the administration of their Common-wealth, to thirty Gouvernors: At first, they attached the most notorious offenders, men generally hated, and executed them without Proesse. The people applauded and commended the course, but by litle and litle Liberty swarmed into Lust: The Innocent and Nacent were condemned at their pleasures: the vulgar were terrified, and so the Citty oppressed with seruitude, now miserably smarted for her foolish ouersights.

In our daies, when the victorious Silla, commaunded Damasippes, and his damned crew, who had no meanes to liue, but vpon the generall spoile, to be worthily slaine; who commended not his iudgement? Every man cried, it was Nobly done to free the Common-wealth of such mercilesse, thriftles, and seditious Rascals: but what followed, this was the Originall of a cruell massacre: For, as any of his followers affected the mansion, the Lordshippe, yea, at last the plate or apparrell of any of the Comminalty, his course was, to do his endeavour to inroll him in the number of the Proscriptes.

Ho.

Honourable Lords, I speake not this, for that I suspect the like in Marcus Tullius, no nor in these times, but in this huge and populous Citty, it is not unknowne to you, that many and variable humours lie lurking continually.

And so, at some other time, and some other being Confull, with an Army at commaunde, a false report may happen to passe for truth; when, vpon this president, if the Confull by Commission from the Senate, should vnscath his sworde, what end I pray you, should the state expect of this rash determination? Who shall limit his power? Who shall moderate his armes?

Honourable Lords, our predecessors, were neuer to seeke of Counsell nor Courage, neither did Pride preuaricate their minds from following another mans aduice, so it were profitable. To forge armes, and warlike furnitures they learned from the Samnits. The Ensignes of Magistracy, (for the most part) they borrowed from the Thulcanes: yea, what soeuer they sawe fitting amongst their allies, or Enemies, they tooke great care to bring the vse thereof into the Citty. They admired Vertue in al men, they enuied it in none: but in those times, in imitation of the Greekes, they punished a Cittizen with stripes, a condemned man, with death.

But in proesse of time, as the common-wealth beganne to grow great by the multitude of inhabitants, iealousies increased, innocency was circūvented, & such like enormities were daily committed. For remedy whereof, the Law Porcia, and diuers other wholesome statutes were enacted; by which banishment was provided in cases of condemnation.

These Authorities (Honourable Fathers) in my Opinion should be Motiues exceeding perswasive, to alter or frustrate these your new determinations. Beleene it, the valours and wisdom of those men, who from so slender foundations haue established so great, so glorious an Empire, could not bee, but much more eminent in them, then in vs, who can hardly maintaine that, which they most proudly bequeathed vs. Howe then Sir? Will you haue the Prisoners discharged, and the troopes of Cateline re-enforced? No surely. But my censure is, that their goods be forfeited, and their bodies sequestred

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under

under safe custody in the best and strongest Townes of our Associates. With this Prouiso, that no one of them hereafter be so bold, as to dare to motion meanes of redemption, before the Lords of the Senat, neither to mediate his pardon with the people. Him that violateth this Ordinance, let the Senat proclaime him Traytour to the State, and enemy to all loyall Subiects.

When this Oration was ended, each man looked vpon other; some assented, euery mans minde was diuertly distracted.

But at last *Marcus Cato*, being commaunded to speake his opinion; thus began his Oration.

### Catoes Oration.

**H**onorable Lords, resoluing with my selfe, the Nature of this weighty businesse: the goodly Arguments (I must bee plaine) which other men haue thereupon framed, are of no validity with mee to mooue approbation. For, in my iudgment, they haue but onely spent time in discoursing, what punishment were fitting for men intending the ruine of their Countrey, the vndoing of their parents, the spoile of priuate houses, and the ouerthrowe of Religion.

But Noble Lordes, this storme calleth vnto vs for a speedy preuention, not a lingering Consultation. Offences already committed may be punished at leasure; but it will be too late to talke of Iustice, when remedy is past, and offenders growne puissant. If the Citty bee gained, what power (I beseech you) remaineth to the Conquered?

For the loue of the immortall Gods, let mee intreat you all, to whom beautifull houses, goodly reuenewes, pictures, and costly hangings are more in admiration, then the Common-good; if you haue any desire longer to be Lordes of these vanities (of what esteeme soeuer) if it be but to continue the meanes of these your delights, now at the last pinch assume your courages, and let a true remorse of the generall Welfare wholly possesse your irresolute opinions. It is no time now to take order for impositions, or to talke of the iniuries of our Associates;

Our

Our liues and Liberties at this instant are questionable. Honourable Lordes, I haue often spoken my minde freely in this thrice-Honorable assembly; I haue made sundry motions touching the Ryots and Couetousnesse of this state, procuring to my selfe no small hatred thereby: but I, who could neuer flatter mine owne imperfections, could lesse indure the insolencie of Others. And though you gaue but small credit to my sayings, and yetlesse the Common wealth florished; yet (beleue it) Prosperity onely excused your remissnesse.

I speake not this, as if time now serued to dilate, whether we are degenerated in manners or no: Neither how great, or how glorious the Roman Empire is, or hath bin: But whether this greatnesse, this glory (be they more, be they lesse) are like to continue ours, or we enforced to part stakes with our enemies. I know some of you by your silences, woulde interrupt mee, with Mercy and Mildnesse! But alas: we haue long ago lost the true Estimables of these words: for, now adates, to be prodigall of another mans goods is to bee beautifull; doing to do deeds vnlawfull, vnseemely, &c. is to be valourous. In such extremes doth the state now stand. Well, let vs tolerate their abuses, because they are inueterate, and time hath made them fashionable; let men be wastfull of that which is none of their owne: Let vs be mercifull vnto Theeues and robbers of our publique treasure: yet, I pray you, let them not likewise bee prodigals of our blouds, and we, by foolish pitty extended to a few desperats, vndo millions of honest Cittizens. I confesse that *C. Cæsar* hath shewed great learning before this Honourable Court, in his distinctions of life and death: supposing (as I conceiue) that the receiued Opinions of hell are false; or that, euill doers seperated from the good, and destinated to places obscure, vile, stinking, vncleane and full of horror: And so drawing towards an end, he woulde haue their goods forfeited, and their bodies committed to safe custody in the Borroughes of our associates, fearing (belike) that if they remained in Rome, they might happen to be rescued either by popular commotions, or waged multitudes: as though forsooth all euill-disposed persons resided onely in Rome, & none lay disperfed throughout the townes of Italy. Surely wise men know, that rash & violent attempts are easiest affected, where least meanes of opposition are feared. And therefore, if his feares arise vpon such like surmises, his plot is ridiculous: Or, if he onely in so vniuersall an apprehension of feare, feare nothing at all; because I am so much the rather induced to bee fearefull both of mine owne safety, and of yours also. Therefore (Honourable Lordes) whensoever it shall bee your pleasures to ratifie your Iudgement against *Leuulus*, & his associates, beleue it with constancy, that then you vndo Cateline, and disperse his confederates: the sooner ye doe it, the sooner you breake them: Delay is dangerous; it hopeth it resolueth. Neuer let it enter your Opinions, that by armes our forefathers augmented our Patrimonies: For, if that were true, then at this day would it proue farre more glorious, in that, time hath giuen vs, not onely aduantage, but also surplusage of Allies, of Cittizens, of warlike furnitures, and Horsses of service: No, no, my Lordes, of those vertues, which made them so powerfull, and so fortunate, wee haue not one left vs; Thrift in Priuate, Iustice in Publike; free Language in Parliament; Liues spotlesse, Minds vnspationate. In lieu whereof wee possesse Ryot and Auarice: In times of Service, preten-

sed pouertie: to serue our owne turnes, abundance and plentie. We admire Riches, and embrace Sloth: betweene Vertue and Vice we put no difference: Ambition incrocheth, where desert onely should haue prekeminence. And no marnell! for euerie one of vs holde Counsels apart: At home wee worke for our priuat interests: heere we speake for Meed or fauour. So on all sides the Common-wealth wringeth. But no more of these greeuances.

Our fellow-Cittizens, and those descended of most Noble families, haue conspired the inuasion of their Countrey! They haue done their utmost in the quarrell, to ingage the French, a Nation alwaies in deadlie hatred of the Roman name. The Captaine of the Warre, in person braueth you at your gates: and yet, you stand looking one vpon another; doubtfull and irresolute what to do, with those whom you haue apprehended within your wals. Shall I enforme you? Then thus: They are young Gentlemen, deceived thorough foolish Ambition: Let them find fauor: yea, let them depart armed; without doubt, this your ienity, and pittie, vpon the next occasions, shall turne you to miserie.

The maine is bitter, full of horror, but you feare it not! Yes it is, and that extreamelie: why then like cowards and men of basest mould stand you still, straining curtesie who shal march foremost? Well, I know the reasons. Now, as in former times, in most imminent dangers you trust that the immortal Goddes will turne all to the best. Fooles that wee are! To think that the Gods will be won by Womanish vowes and idle Sacrifices, without watching, without pains-taking, and good Counsel. Where these stand ioyntly employed, all things come to happy ends. At Sloth and Cowardice the heauenly powers are offended.

In the daies of our Ancestors, A. M. Torquatus adiudged his sonne to death, for that against the command of his generall, he had happilie fought with his enimie. And he, (most worthie young Gentleman) accordingly suffered: he punishment of rash valour: And do you now aske, what shall be done vnto these most mercilesse Traitors?

Sir, their fore-passed life merriteth some mitigation. Bee it so: Deale fauourably with Lentulus for the honour of his house,

house, if he at any time fauoured his owne good name, his calling, Gods, or man. Let the adolefscencie of Cethegus, be a Motiue of mercy, if this be not the second rebellion wherein hee hath bene interested.

What should I say for Gabinius, Satrius, Ceparius?

If they had bin men of any moderation, they would neuer haue ingaged their estates in such dangerous complots against their country.

Honourable Lords, if I could discern any meane hopes, I could be well content to see you moderatelie beaten with your owne negligences, for that you regard not good Counsel. But since we are beleaguered on euerie side: Cateline bouereth ouer our heads with an armed power: his associates are within our wals, euen in the heart of our Cittie, and nothing can be dispatched in Counsell with secrecie: (weightie inducements of speedie resolution) For these reasons, and for that (most Honourable Fathers) the Common-wealth hath runne into apparant danger, by the practises of these Traiterous Cittizens, already convicted by the Testimonies of T. Vulturcius and the Allobroges: & themselves haue confessed their intentions to kill, to burn, and to commit manie other lamentable and vspeakeable outrages against the Cittie, and this State: My censure is, that More maiorti, punishment bee inflicted vpon them, as vpon Traitors condemned of high Treason, by their owne confession.

Cato being set downe, the Consuls, with the greater part of the Senate, approued his sentence, and highly praised his courage. And while one accuseth the other offaine & remisse courage, Cato obtaineth the attributes of Great, and Excellent. According to his censure they passe a Decree.

And because these two, M. Cato, and C. Cesar (men of excellent parts, but of diuers Natures) liued in my time, I thinke it not admissible, to adde vnto this my discourse, a Comparison of their liues and actions.

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A Comparison of M. Cato, and Ca. Caesar.



ndiscent, in yeares, and eloquence they were almost equall: in greatnesse of mind and popular commendation alike; but diuersly. *Caesar* affected the Sir-name of *Great*, by *Largeesse* & *Bountie*: *Cato* by *Integritie* of life. *Caesar* became famous for his curtesie and gentlenesse; *Cato* for his sterne carriage and seuerity. *Caesar* grew popular by giuing, by forgiuing, by releeuing: *Cato* by contraries. The one profest refuge to the oppressed: the other, inexorable to offenders. The one was praised for affability: the other for grauity. *Caesars* chiefeest felicity was, to labor, to watch, to prefer the luits of his fauourites, to be careles of his own, to deny nothing worth giuing: of comānd, of Soldiery, of difficult wars (wherein valor and good conduct shewed the man) very desirous: But *Catoes* studies were modesty, graue carriage, and aboue all, seuerity. With the rich, he contended not for Riches, neither with the factious, for followers; but with the valourous, by imitation: with the modest, in Conscience, and with the good man, in abstinence. He coueted to be, not to seem. The lesse he sought praise, the more it followed him. Thus much for this:

### CHAP. 17.

1. The counsell resolved to follow *Catoes* opinion: commaund their sentence to be executed vpon the Offenders.



fter the Senate (as I told you before) had resolved to followe *Catoes* opinion, the Consall letting no time slip, to preuent all disturbances, made euery thing ready against night, which now drew on apace. He commaunded the three executioners to prepare themselves: he disposeth the warders, and lea-  
deth *Lentulus* to prison: So are the residue by the Shirifs. In the prison is a dungeon called *Tullianum*, into which, after a man is a little entered, vpon the left side, is a roome scarce twelue foote high, walled rounde about, and ouerhead vaulted with a stone Arch, exceeding darke, vnfaou-  
rie,

rie, and able to amaze any mans senses. Into this place was *Lentulus* commaunded, where the executioner did forthwith strangle him. So this Noble Gentleman descended of the ancient house of the *Cornelij*, and once Consul, ended his life: according to his deserts: so did *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinus*, and *Ceparius*, after the same manner.

### CHAP. 18.

1. Cateline ioyneeth with *Manlius*, and supplying his Legions with men of better condition, casseth the slaues: 2. He vnderstandeth the discouerie of the Plot, and how his friendes fared at Rome: 3. He fleeth.

As these things thus passed at Rome, *Cateline* by vni-  
ting his forces with *Manlius*, maketh two Companies, with winges proportionable to his numbers. And as his companies increased, either of voluntaries, or of such as were sent vnto the campe from the confederats, hee diuided them equally betwixt the Legions, and so at length supplied their defects, which in the beginning wer not aboue two thousand strong. The fourth part of his people were not souldier-like armed, euery man tooke what came next to hand; some Darts, som Lances; others very sharpe and keene Bore-speares.

And now hearing of the approaches of *Anthony*, hee iournieth by the mountaines; somtimes bending towards the City, sometimes towards *France*, cunningly auoyding all occasions of hazard, vpon assurance, that if his Complices had once brought their determinations to execution in the City, that forthwith his forces woulde bee strongly reenforced. Vpon which his imagination hee casseth the slaues; of which sort of people, no small numbers trusting to the report of the strength of the confederacie, had in the beginning flocked vnto him, knowing in his conscience, that to communicate his cause, and the good estate of the city, to slaues and fugitiues, could not but with reason impaire the credit of the action.

3. By this time newes arriued at the camp, how the conspiracy was detected, the Noblemen executed, & their fol-  
lowers (whom

*It in quolibet tumultu et seditione sunt sceler.*

*Virg. Hic torrens armatus castris, Stipites hic grandis nodis, &c.*

*Ignanum & infidelis hominum genus*

(whom either the giddy Loue of warre, or the hopes of spoile had animated) were dispersed and discouraged. Whereupon, *Cateline* without expectation of further assistance, with his present forces, by long marches and the rough mountaines, taketh his way towards *Pistoia*, of purpose, by by-waies lecretly to haue fled into *Gallia Transalana*. But, *Quintus Metellus Celer*, who lay about *Picenum* with three Legions, by circumstances of casualties, iudging of euents, and vnderstanding by certaine fugitiues, what way the Rebels tooke, dislodged, and pitched his Campe at the foote of those hilles, by which *Cateline* must of necessity descend, to passe into *Gallia*. *Anthony* (for that he followed the flying enemy by beaten and visuall High-waies) soonest arrived: which when *Cateline* perceined, as also, how he was incircled by the vast Mountaines, & the enemies Cavalry, so that hee could no waies flee, and to expect further succours was bootlesse; he there resolved to hazard the fortune of the battaile. To his Souldiers he made this Oration.

## CHAP. 19.

1. *Catelines Oration to his followers.* 2. *The description of the battaile.*

**C**ompanions in Armes, full well I know, that wordes enflame not Noble hearts, neither that a cowardlie and base Souldier, is any whit animated by his Generals speeches. For, what portion of courage Nature hath implanted in a valourous brest, such will it shew it selfe in times of triall. But the minde, that is neither incited by Honour, nor made resolute by danger, will neuer be moued by generous speeches: for fewre anticipateth hearing.

But (Noble souldiers) I haue called you to this assemblie, partlie to giue you a few instructions, partlie to acquaint you with

with my determinations. It is not unknown to you, what mischiefs the cowardice and irresolution of *Lentulus* hath heaped both vpon himselfe and vs; and by our daily expectation of succours from the Citty, we haue lost the opportunity of passing into *Gallia*. In what estate we stand thereby, you may all coniecture.

Two Armies pursue vs; One, from the Citty, another from *Gallia*. To stay long in these desarts (howe endurable soeuer your courages may perswade you) pouerty of all necessaries, & want of food, will forbid vs; and yet, the way to giue remedie to these miseries, must needs be wrought by your swordes. Wherefore, I intreat you, to take courage and comfort, that as I shall lead you to the charge, so you would remember, that you carrie in your right handes your fortunes, your honours, your Glorie, your Country, and your pardons.

If the day be ours, we are made for euer: we shall soone get food in abundance, to sustaine our hungry carcasses; Townes and Colonies shall be assigned vs; but if we yeeld to base feare, we shall finde all things contrary: Neither place, nor friende will protect him, whom his owne sword cannot succour.

Besides, their case and ours is not alike: Our quarrell is for the good of our Countrey, for the general defence of Liberty, for the safegard of our liues: Theirs, for the pleasures and greatness of a few priuate persons. Wherefore, let the iniustesse of the quarrell, stirre vp our greater resolution, by the remembrance of our aunient valours.

Time was, wee mought haue spent the remainer of our daies in disgracefull banishment, and many of you might still haue lined in Rome, vpon expectation of (I know not what fortunes) hauing nothing of your owne (but Beggery, to trust vnto: but because such men as we are, cannot but scorne such base courses, we haue made choice of this; which, if you meane to make good, then shew deeds correspondent. None but the Conquerour can conuert warre into peace, and to thinke to find safety in flight, by forsaking your Armes, or abandoning your naked bodies to your enemies, were a point of madnesse beyond extreame. In a set battaile, no danger is comparable to feare; Resolution is unconquerable.

(Valiant Companions) euen the opinion of your waorthes, your

your former exploits, and your yeares fit for warre, warrant my conceits of good fortune.

I will silence necessities, true motives to make Cowardes courageous: the streights of the Mountaines forbid our Enemies to inloose vs; and therefore, if our destinies be to die, set your liues at a deare rate: die not unreuenged, neither suffer your selues to be taken Prisoners, afterwards to be cut in pieces rather like Dogges, then men of seruice. Leane nothing to your enemies to boast of, save a Lamentable and bloudie victorie.

2. After a little pausing, he commandeth to sound to the charge, and Marhalling his battallions in very seemely order, approcheth the place of encounter. Where being arriued, hee causeth every man to dismisle his horse, that the daunger being alike, their hopes and constancie should be equall; yea, himselfe on foote, rangeth his people, as the Nature of the place and his numbers would permit.

The plaine was fortified on the left hand with Mountaines; on the right, with a sterpe rocke: Betweene these he brought the vauntgard consisting of eight Cohortes: the Areregard he commaunded to march more close, and in it he placed the chiefe and choicest *Centurions*.

The Mercinaries and best armed, made the first rankes of the battell: *Caius Manlius*, marched on the right hand, a certaine *Fesulan* on the left: Himselfe with his fellow-Cittizens, all free men borne, and the aides of the Colonies, stood next vnto the standard of the Eagle, the same, they say, that *C. Marius* displaied in the *Cimbrian* warre.

On the other side, *C. Antonius* being sicke of the Gout, could not be at the combate, and therefore made *M. Petreus* his Lieutenant Generall. Of old souldiers (pressed out for the suddennesse of the businesse) he made the vanguard; the residue he placed behind for succor and aduantage. Then gallopping through the rankes, calling vpon every Captaine by name, he coniureth, he commandeth, he intreateth, that that day they would shewe themselves men, and call to remembrance that they were to fight but against a rable of vnarmed fugitiues, for their Countrey, their

their children, their Religion. This Martiall man had bin about thirty yeares *Tribune*, and either as Generall, Lieutenant, or Colonell had borne the Offices in many fortunate battailes, wherein he knew the insufficiency of his followers, and their valiant exploits; by repetition whereof, he doubled their courages.

All places thus ordered, hee soundeth the signall, hee marcheth somewhat forward, and then maketh a stand: the like doth *Cateline*. Then the battailes aproching within shot, they runne fiercely to the shooke, with diuers clamors, and deadly hatred. The shot being spent, they fall to their swords. The old Soldiers disdainng to be foiled, go resolutely to the charge, and are as valiantly receiued, both dooing their vtmost. At last, *Cateline* comming in with his light armed followers, into the head of the battalions, refresheth the weary, planteth fresh soldiers in the places of the wounded, hath an eye vpon all chances, giueth and taketh many strokes: & finally, performeth the part of a valiant souldier, and an excellent Commander.

*Petreus*, as soone as hee perceiued the station of *Cateline*, imagining that there his people should bee first trauelled; without more ado, chargeth into the midst of his enemies with the *Pretorian* Cohort, speedily disordereth their rankes, and slayeth as many as make resistance. Then turneth he head vpon the winges, and at the first shooke slayeth *Manlius* and *Fesulanus*.

When *Cateline* saw this miserable spectacle, his armie defeated, and few left about him; calling to mind the Honour of his house, and his auncient dignity, thrusterh into the thickest of his enemies, and there valiantly fighting, was slaine.

The battaile beeing ended, what valour and courage had bin in *Catelines* people, was plainly to be discerned. For what parcell of ground any one made choice of, to stand on in fight, the same being slaine, his slaughtered carcase couered. Onely a few, violently ouerborn by the fresh charge of the *Pretorian* cohort, lay somewhat farther remeued; yet al with their deaths-wounds vpon the foreparts of their bodies.

The

*Laws optimi imperatoris.*  
Resolue I cannot whether he,  
A better Chiefe,  
or Souldier be,



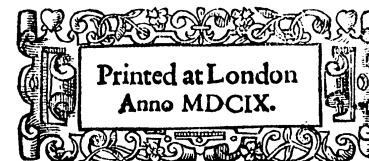
The bodie of *Catline* was at length found dead amongst the slaughter of his slaine enemies, not yet altogether breathlesse, but in countenance shewing some tokens of his liuing fiercenesse.

At a word, not one free Cittizen was taken aliue, either in fight or flight; neither partie made spare of their owne bloods: So farre forth, that the victory prooued neyther ioyfull, nor vnbloody to the *Roman* people. For the bravest men were either slaine in fight, or dangerously wounded. Of many, that went out of their Tents, whether to gaze vpon the place of the battaile, or to risse the dead bodies of their Aduersaries: some found their friends, some their Hosts, some their Kinsmen, and amongst them many of their knowne enemies. Insomuch, that the whole Campe was replenished with diuersitie of humors; of ioy, of heauinesse, of Triumph, of Mourning.

*FINIS.*



C. C. SALVSTIVS  
his History of the  
*Warre of IUGURTH.*



Printed at London  
Anno MDCIX.



*A Breuiat of the Historie.*

Now the  
Realm of Tu-  
nis in Barbary.



NUMIDIA, containeth that part of Affrick, wherein Massinissa the faithfull friend and confederate of the Roman people, sometime reigned. This Massinissa had three Sonnes; Micipsa, Manastaball and Gulussa. Manastaball and Gulussa died, by whose death the Kingdome entirely descended to Micipsa. Micipsa had issue, Adherbal and Hiempsal; Iugurth, he fostered as the Sonne of his Brother Manastabal, for that his Grand-father Massinissa had left him vnaadvanced, as his base Grand-Childe begotten on the body of a Concubine. The man was ambitious, well qualified, of a ready wit, and great spirit, elder then Adherbal or Hiempsal. In iealousie whereof, Micipsa, fearing that if he should die during the minority of his children, that their Cousin Iugurth might happen ambitiously to vsurpe the Kingdome, resolved to oppose him to dangerous aduentures, in hope by these means to see him miscarry.

About the same time it happened, that the Romans, vnder the conduct of Scipio, besieged Numantia in Spaine, whereunto Micipsa sent certaine Regiments of Horse and foote, vnder the command of his Kinsman Iugurth, their Generall; making full account in this iourney, to heare newes answerable to his plotted desseignements, but Fortune had otherwise decreed: for in this war, the reputation of Iugurth more and more increased; yea, he made so many faire proofes of his valour in this action, that Scipio not only commended him in a publicke Oration, but (the warre ended, and Numantia razed) he inuested him with many military honors; by his Letters commending his seruice to Micipsa, in very worthy and honourable tearmes,

## A Bruiat

which bred so sodaine an alteration in the King, that whereas before, he fully minded his destruction, hee now wisbeth and intendeth nothing so much as his welfare and advancement; adopteth him his Sonne, and shortly after dying, left him Co-heire with his Children, throughout his whole estates and dominions. After whose deise, the three Royceles, Adherbal, Hiempsal and Iugurth, deuising with themselves about the portion of the Kingdome, Iugurth trayterously slayeth Hiempsal, the younger of the twaine, and casting in his haughty mind, how by the death of the other, he might become sole Lord of the whole, firmly resoluech to leuy an Army, wherewith he giueth the overthrow to the elder Brother Adherbal. Who after this defeature, flyeth to Rome, and there aggravating his Brothers death, his owne banishment, and Iugurths treasons, beseecheth aid of the Lordes of the Senate. The Lords accord, and send tenne Commissioners into Affricke, to make diuision of the Kingdome betwene them: who had no sooner ended the businesse, and turned their backs, but Iugurth entertayned his former practises, and a new inuadeth his Brothers portion with warre and slaughter. To repress this his insolency, Adherbal of meere necessity is driuen to leuy an Army, and to march against Iugurth, but is againe ouerthrowne, and with a few Horsemen in his company forced to fly vnto Cirtia, whether Iugurth aduanceth his forces, and besiegeth the City. Hereof Adherbal by Letters certifieth the Lordes of the Senate, giuing them to vnderstand, vpon what desperate tearmes his estate depended, how hee was deprived of his kingdome by Iugurth, and forced by warre and famine to vndergoe such vtmost extremities, that long time he was not able to make good the place of his refuge, euen the sanctuary of his life: That his aduersary little regarded the censures of the Senat: finally, that they would vouchsafe to send him potent and speedy succours. Vpon the opening of these Letters many gaue their opinions, in fauour of the distressed estate of Adherbal, but others corrupted by the Numidian, aduised rather to send Commissioners vnto Iugurth, with authority to commaund him in the name of the Lordes and people of Rome, to abstaine from farther violence. Iugurth gaue these Commissioners during their employment in Affricke, faire language and faithfull protestations, but after their departure fell a

fresh

## of the Historie.

fresh to his former proiects. Whereupon, the besieged, desire Adherbal to pity the estates of so many innocent people in the Towne, that seeing he could not otherwise prouide for his safety, that he would yeelde the place vpon assurance of his life only. Which being granted, and the towne surrendered, without respect of Oth or kindred, Iugurth falsifieth his Faith, and cruelly murdereth his innocent Brother. The newes wherof much disquieted the Lordes of the Senate, and therefore they posted away Lucius Calphurnius Bestia (the Consull) with an Army into Affricke, to giue stop to his further proceedinges: but he being corrupted by Iugurth, in stead of punishing the Traitor, concluded a most dishonorable peace. Wherewith the Lordes of the Senat being much more moued then before, dispatched away Albinus the Consull, with order and authority to repress the Traytors insolencies: but him Iugurth so long deluded with promises and counterfeited demonstrations of submission and conformity, that the yeare beeing spent, without doing any thing, he was enforced to leaue all as he found it, and to hasten to Rome against the day of election, nominating his brother Aulus Lieutenant of the Army & Prouince. This man, either on a foolish opinion to reap the glory of finishing this warre, or vpon avarice to fill his priuate Coffers, in Ianuary, in the depth of Winter, leadech the Army into the open field. Iugurth quickly finding the insufficiency of this new Generall, pretending feare and cowardize, trayneth his enemy into woody and mountainous Countries; yea, and to colour his subtilty, sendeth his humble petition to the Roman Generall, with offers of submission and satisfaction. The faster he sled, the more eager was Aulus in pursuit, untill Iugurth taking the benefit of time, and the aduantage of the place, found easie meanes to rout the whole Romain Army. The day following, they fell to composition: First, that the Roman Prisoners should be dismissed Sub ingum: Secondly, the whole army within ten daies cleerly to depart the boundis of Numidia. This daunted the people, for the present, but gathering againe their spirits (notwithstanding the composition of Aulus, and his peoples overthrow) they dimitted Numidia to Metellus (the Consull) for his Prouince. This excellent Commauder finding the Army corrupted by the remisse carriage of his

*A Breuiat, &c.*

his Predecessors, first restored the Ancient discipline, & then by hazarding a set-battell with Iugurth, put him to the worse. After him, Marius (Consull elect) succeeded in this Province of Numidia, who persecuting the war with courage and good Fortune, utterly vndid the Numidian, and getting him into his possession by policy, led him through Rome as a Captiue, before his Tri-umphall Chariot.



**C.C. SALVSTIVS**  
his History of the

*Warre of IUGVRTH.*

The Proëme.



Alse and friuolous is this generall complaint of Mankind : *That Nature hath not onely endowed vs with weake bodies, and those of short continuance ; but also hath subiected the more to the influence of Fortune then to the predominance of Vertue.* For,

vpou mature aduice, if we coule call our indowments into consideration, we should find no Planet to bee of like operation, or greater efficacy to preferment. To the atchieuement whereof, we may more truly lay the blame vpon our want of industry, then eyther vpon the shortnesse of life, or indigence of meanes. For without doubt, the <sup>b</sup> *Mind is Lord and Monarch of Mortality* : which whensoever it resolueth to climbe the aduenturous passage of *Aduancement* by the path of <sup>c</sup> *Vertue*, it shall finde it selfe abundantly furnished with sufficiency, and fauours powerfull and eminent ; without any way being beholding to the inconstancy of that disgracefull Goddesse ; for that shee hath neither meanes to giue, nor power to bereaue vs of our good reputation, of our industrie, no nor of the least

<sup>a</sup> *Clamantes ut poeta. Fortunæ immeritos augeat honoribus : Iustos illa viros pauperie grauat : Indignos eadem diuitijs beat, &c.*

<sup>c</sup> *Sen. Neminem dedignatur, qui modo se dignum illâ iudicauerit.*

<sup>b</sup> *Animum rectum, bonum, quid aliud vocet, quam deam in humano corpore hospitem.*

of

of any of our vertuous inclinations. But when we enthral these so powerfull instincts to sloth, base motions, and bodilie pleasures; and therein haue worne out our strong bodies, our irrecouerable youth, and excellent wits: then is it *Error*, and no iust *complaint* to accuse Nature of weaknesse & infirmity, our selues being the workers of our own woe by pretence of impotencie and difficulty.

But had we the like alacrity, to ayme at the fairest objects, as we haue inclination to affect the basest courses, and those of no worth, yet full of hazards; we should be as ready to resist fortune, as fortune were able to crosse our intendments: yea we should share so farre forth with glory and greatnesse, that in despite of Obluion our names after death should participate of eternity.

For as wee are compacted of Soule and body: so all our thoughts, words, and actions; follow some the frailties of the flesh, som the virtues of the Soule. And therefore by the infallible law of Nature, beauteous faces, immeasurable riches, and strorgest bodies, shall in short time decline and perish: All things that haue a beginning, must of necessity haue an ending: sometime falling before they are blossomed; but how euer, wayning before they are fully come to perfection. But the gifts of a vertuous mind are subiect to no such limitations; they are, as the Soule, Immortall, Time-scorners, the guides of life; resisting all things, commanding all things, containing all things, yet vncommaunded and vncontained of any.

Which high and Soueraigne Prerogatiues make me the more to wonder, to see men spend the whole daret of their dayes, in Reuelling, Ryor and Idlenesse, suffering their wits, (the richest Ornament of humane bodies) for want of courage and imployment, to rest base and vulgar, especially since the *mind* affordeth such store and diuersity of means to rise to aduancement.

But it should seem, that men thus qualified in these daies, affect not Offices, Superiority, & imployment in the state, because vertue is neither countenanced, nor those who haue attained preferment by indirect courses, the freer from Disgrace, nor accounted more honest. For although by their super-

*Nullum numen habet, si sit prudentia, &c.*

*Dum seruitur libidini facta est consuetudo: & dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas.*

*Cam non in su suffragis ius obtinuerim.*

*Hoc est, regi per Magistratus non electos liberis suffragiis.*

*Id est fecit aliquis in fauorem Caesaris, Pompeij et Augusti.*

*Historia est testis tem potius, luc veritatis, magistra vite, nuncia vetustatis.*

*Quia absque magno labore (sed non sine Arte) videtur scribi Historia.*

*Sapientis est mutare propositum, si res mutantur.*

*Unde dici solet picturas et calaturas iudiciorum esse liberos.*

supereminence they haue iurisdiction ouer their country and parents, and may punish offences, yet is the President distastfull, for that all <sup>b</sup> innouation irritateth Discontents, Ielousies, Quarrels, and Scandall. Whereas on the other side againe, to gape after a thanklesse Office, and to reape for our labours nothing but Enuy, is as extreame a part of madnesse; vnlesse it bee for him, whome a preiudicate and factions <sup>i</sup> humour of power possesseth, thereby to gratifie the ambition, abuses, and partialities of a few great personages.

But to come to my purpose: of all tasks that the minde can vndertake, I hold none to be of greater vse, then <sup>k</sup> History: of whose excellency, because many famous men haue worthily discoursed thereof, I will forbear to speake, least some seuerer censurer, should tax me of affectation for praising the profession wherein (I confesse) I take most delight: Yea, and I am in perfect beleefe, that other some (for that I was once determined to spend the remainder of my daies in vacancy from State-Affayres) wil not stick to write vpon the forehead of these my laborious and profitable studies, the Titles of Sloth. But my best hope is, they wil proue only such, who onely account it a worke of industry to complement with the people; or by making good cheere, to captiuate mens fauours: Who, if it please them to remember in what times I was chosen to Office, and what men at the same times were put by, with the insufficiencies of such, as afterwards were chosen into Parliament, they cannot but acknowledge that I <sup>l</sup> changed my mind vpon due considerations, and not vpon any inclination to Sloth: and that the common-wealth is likely to reape more profit by my times of sleysure, then by the continuall imployments of some other. For, I haue often heard *Q. Maximus*, *P. Scipio*, & others our honorable Predecessors report, that the intencue contemplation of the <sup>m</sup> Medalls of their Auncestors, hath often inflamed their minds to Emulation: not that the painting, or the liueles protraiture had any such influences in the; but that the recording of their glorious actions, did disperse such a *Bout-feau* of imitation in their spirits, that it could neuer bee extinguished, vntill they had equalized their highest Vertues.

*In Magistratibus neque salus nec requies, nisi bene meritis.*

But

Quorum maiores  
nunquam fuerunt  
in eo Magistratu.

Tet Quisq; bona  
vocant, perinde  
sunt atque qui illis  
viventur.

But in these times of corruption, what man liueth, that contendeth not with his fore-fathers in acquisition of riches & expence, but neyther in honesty, nor industry? Euen vpstarts, who in the olde world were accustomed to enter the ranke of Nobility, by worth and sufficiency; in these daies, lay their plots for preferment by sinister endeouours, and not by vertuous courtes: As if the Prætership, Consul-shipp, and such like offices, were in themselves simply Noble, and not graced by their worths who manage such places. Thus haue I giuen my pen her liberty, confessing, that the corrupt and degenerate manners of the City, hath made it forgetfull of duty; for recompence whereof, I will now betake me to my taske.

### CHAP. I.

1. Reasons inducing the Authour to write this History. 2. *Masiniſſa* entreth alliance with the Romans. 3. The vexation and cares of *Micipſa* his Sonne and Successour. 4. The commendation and qualities of *Jugurth*. 5. His fortunes.



**I**N this Booke, my purpose is, to write the Warre which the Roman people vndertooke against *Jugurth* King of *Numidia*: First, because it was weighty, cruell, and doubtfull: Secondly, for that about this time, the people avowed their first discontents against the surquedrie of the *Roman* Nobility: a contention whereby al Diuine and humane lawes were wrapped in confusion; & afterward proceeded into such raging fits of succeeding madnesse, that *Italy* was almost wasted, before their ciuill warres ended.

But for the Readers better vnderstanding, and more satisfaction; before I enter into the maine of the History, I will first begin with matter of more ancient discourse.

In the second *Punique* warres, wherein *Hanniball* the *Carthaginian* Captaine, had after their manifold good fortunes almost

almost laide desolate the *Italian* Prouinces, and wasted their forces: *Masiniſſa* king of *Numidia*, was receiued by *Scipio* (afterwards for lubduing *Africa*, Surnamed *Africannus*) into the *Romane* alliance. A man for Military prowesse and valor much renowned, and whom, after the ouerthrow of the *Carthaginians* and the taking of *Sciphax* (a Lord of a spacious kingdom in *Affricke*) the *Romane* people in reward of his good and loyal seruice, frankly inuested with those cities and prouinces, which by force he had gained from *Sciphax*. By this meanes, the friendship of *Masiniſſa*, continued profitable and constant: but hee finished his life no sooner then his Empire tooke ending. *Manastaball* and *Gulussa*, his Brethren, being dead, the kingdom diuolued vnto *Micipsa*, as sole-heyre. He had two Sonnes *Adherbal* and *Hempsal*. *Jugurth*, the sonne of his Brother *Manastaball*, whom (being bale borne) *Masiniſſa* had left in priuate estate, he brought vp in his owne house with like allowance as hee proportioned to his owne children; who comming vnto mans estate, grewe strong of body, comely of feature, and quicke of apprehension: not giuing himselfe to ryot or wantonnesse, but according to the custom of that Nation, addicted to riding, to cast Darts, or to runne marches with his Compeeres: wherein although he alwaies carried the prize from the rest, yet was he neuertheless generally beloued.

Thus spent he his youth, sometime in rowling the Lyon and other wilde Beasts, wherein he would be sure to be the man, that should giue the first stroke. In these disports, he would do most; and beeing ended, speake least of himselfe. Of which Princely carriages, although in the beginning *Micipsa* reioyced, esteeming his Vertues as an Ornament of his Court, yet reuoluing his old age and the minority of his Children, with the popular applause, which he obserued euery day more then other, to increase by the youth and towards disposition of *Jugurth*, beeing much disquieted in mind, he began to forecast many casualties in his thoughts. The fraile Nature of man thirsty of soueraignery, and headstrong to execute the designs of ambition, did present him his first feares. The second, arose from the consideration of his owne yeares, and the nonage of his children, the opportunity

Quia tam parum  
durauit successoris  
regnum, ut non  
regnasse videtur.

nity whereof only, were of marvailous efficacy to transport men or means diltents and aspiring spirits to hopes of high places; the last scruple that possessed his imaginations, was the populer loue and dependance of the *Numidians*: from whom, it by some politticke plot, hee should make away to worthy a subiect by immature death, hee stood farre more doubtfull of ensuing warres and vprores.

Being confounded in these passions, and well weighing that a Man in so Gracious acceptance of the people for his ready seruice, and loue to marriall Aduentures, could not with safety be wronged neither by law nor subtiltie; resolved to oppose him to dangers, therein to vndergoe the fate of his fortunes. And thereupon *Micipsa* createth him Lorde Generall of those horse and foot, which were sent for *Spain* in assistance of the *Romane* people: hoping either by rash valour, or some blow from the enemy, to heare news of his kinsmans death. The euent crossed expectation. For *Iugurth* as he was of a quick & apprehensue wit, observing the Nature of *Scipio* his Generall, and the behauiour of the enemy, with especiall care and performance, modestly obeying the commands and wils of the Officers, did oftentimes oppose against and preuent many eminent dangers: insomuch that in short time the Name of *Iugurth* onely grew famous thorough the Army, highly beloued of our people, most dreadfull to the *Numantines*. And to giue him his due, a thing not often seene; the man was valiant in action, & wise in counsell: (for the most part,) the first, assisted by providence begetteth feare; the second, inforced by boldnes produceth rashnesse. Which his good parts the Generall taking in notice, intrusted vnto *Iugurth* almost all his difficult designs, inrolled him in the rank of his friends, & euery day graced him with extraordinary fauors; and not without desert; for whatsoever he aduised, he performed with honor. To these his good parts were also adioyned Bounty, and dexterity of conceit, Qualities that brought him in liking and familiar acquaintance with the better sort of the *Romane* Gentry.

At that very instant, many both ancient and new vpstart Gentlemen, serued in our Army, vnto whom bribes were more in esteeme then vpright or honorable cariage: whose

*Quares bellicose  
gentis maxima ad-  
mirations est.*

*unde dicit Sertius  
Quibus sanguis  
calidus, et Afrus,  
maior est prudentia,  
sed minor audacia  
in bellis: Contra  
quibus frigidus, et  
Tentoniobus.*

*Sen. Diuitie  
apud sapientem  
in seruitute sunt  
apud stultum  
in imperio.*

humors being factious, and at Court in credit with their followers, more admired for their discontents, then worches; These were they, that by proposing high dignities first inflamed the mind of *Iugurth*, perswading him that if *Micipsa* were once dead, he might easily become sole-Lord of *Numidia*; That he worthily deserued a Crown; That in *Rome* all things were saleable for moncy.

5. *Numantia* now razed, *P. Scipio* determined to dismishe his *Auxiliaries*, & to make his return to *Rome*: at what time after he had graced *Iugurth* with due Trophies of desert, & honourably commended him by word of mouth, he ledde him into his imperiall Pauillion, where he giueth him these secret Instructions: *Rather in publicke then priuate to shewe his affections towards the Romane people: not to be bountifull to particulars: That friendship bought of a few, was more vncertaine then that which is entertained by many. That if he proceeded as he began, that glory and honour would attend him above expectation: But if he made more hast then good speede, that both riches and himselfe would headlong run vnto destruction.* This was all the Generall spake, and so dismissed him, committing to his deliuerance certaine Letters subscribed to *Micipsa*: the Tenor wherof was as followeth.

*The valor of your kinsman Iugurth, hath deserued no small commendation in the warre of Numantia: which newes I know assuredly will be welcome vnto you. His deserts deserue no lesse of vs, we will do our utmost to worke the like acceptance with the people and the Lords of the Senate. I salute you for our ancient friendship. And in the word of truth, I re-send you a Gentleman worthy of your fauours, and the descent of his Grandfather Massinissa.*

As soone as the king vnderstoode by Letters from the Generall, that Fame had bin no lyer, partly moued by the report of his kinsmans excellency, and partly by his good carriage, he changed his mind, and seeking to win the man by grace and fauours, forthwith adopteth him his son, and by testament maketh him co-heire with the residue of his children. Then growing old with yeares, and perceiuing by sicknes and course of nature, that hee had no long time to liue, he is reported to haue thus discourted with *Iugurth*, in the

*Coronis et in-  
signitus victo-  
riam.*



the presence of his friends, kint-folke, and sonnes, *Adherbal* and *Hempsal*.

**O** *Iugurth*: It is well knowne, that after the death of thy Father, euen in thine Infancy, I receiued thee into the Tutelage of my House, left as thou wert to the worlde, without meanes or possibilities of aduancement: expecting no lesse content from thy loyalty, in requitall of those Honours which I haue bestowed vpon thee, then I hoped from the Loues of mine owne Children, for the benefite of their Births. Wherein I haue bene nothing deceived. For, to silence many thy famous and former exploits, I confesse that thy late employment and returne from *Numantia*, hath perfected the honourable Testimonies of vs, and our Nation: Thy valour, of fauours, hath made the Roman people most constant friends vnto vs, and in Spaine thou hast reuined the remembrance of our deceased Progenitors: Above all (a worke most difficult) thy Vertues haue ouerstopped Envy.

And now, for that I perceiue that my life draweth towardes an end, I admonish and adiuire thee by this right hand, and the allegiance which thou owest to thy countrey, that thou estrange not thy loue and seruice from these thy kinsmen, whom by fauor and ascription I haue created thy Brethren: neither conest thou, in gouernment to admit of strangers, rather then of those who are allied vnto thee in blood and parentage. Loyall friends, not the armed Souldier, nor the Richest Treasure, are the surest guards of Kingdomes: True friendship which thou canst neither allure by practise, nor buy with gold, is purchased by respect & fidelity. And who I pray thee, should be more indeered, then one Brother to another? Or what stranger shall that man find confident, who proueth a Traytour to his owne blood? Surely if you continue vertuous, I bequeath you a strong Kingdome, if ye turne euill, a weake Patrimony. By Vnity small things are multiplied: by Dissention, the greatest Kingdomes are ruined.

Beleeue me *Iugurth*, it is thy Office (for that thou art eldest in yeares and experience) to take care that nothing happen contrary to these my latest Counsels: for in all controuersies, the man that is most powerfull (though hee receiue an iniury) yet will it be supposed, that he hath giuen it, because he is best able to do it.

*Masiniisse, qui claruit sub Hadrubaie.*

*Quam ad tunc tenuit.*

Again (you my sonnes,) see that you Honour and aduance this your worthy Kinsman: Imitate and out-strippe him in vertue, least it be said by me, that I haue adopted braver Children, then I haue begotten.

Although *Iugurth* conceited that the King spake not this from his heart, hauing his mind busied vpon farre higher & different cogitations; yet for the present, he gaue courteous and gracious language. Within a fewe daies after *Micipsa* dyed.

## CHAP. 2.

1. The Royetelets assemble about partition of the Kingdome.
2. *Hempsal* disgraceth *Iugurth*.
3. His reuenge.
4. And preparation to warre.
5. His course after victory.
6. *Adherbals* Accusation.
7. *Iugurths* excuse.
8. Order taken to content both Parties.
9. The yssue.



After the three Royetelets, according to the custome of their Aunccestors, had Royally interred the body of *Micipsa*, they appointed a time of meeting, ther to take order for their further affaires. Where *Hempsal* (the youngest of three, but by Nature the proudest) now, as before time, scorning the base discontent of *Iugurth*, by his mother, tooke place vpon the right hand of *Adherbal*, that *Iugurth* might not sit in the midst; which amongst the *Numidians* is accounted the most Honourable place. Neither could he by his Brothers earnest importunity, without apparant discontent, be perswaded to remoue on the other hand.

Where, amongst many particulars proposed of gouernment, *Iugurth* affirmed, that whatsoeuer *Micipsa* had decreed, fiew yeares before his death, ought to be of no validity: for that, by reason of his aged years, during those times,

his

his fences had failed him. Wherewithall *Hyempsal* was well pleased: for within the space of these three yeares last past, (quoth hee) you were adopted as co-heire into the Kingdome. Which words tooke deeper impression in the heart of *Iugurth*, then any man present would haue suspected.

3 This disgrace, from this time forwarde prouoked *Iugurth*, (irresolute betweene wrath and feare) to study and plot in his minde how to surprize *Hyempsal* by Treason: Which determination working but to slow effects, and his iraged passion nothing the lesse by time asswaged, he now resolueth to dispatch it vpon any occasion.

At their first meeting (shewed you before) to auoide all causes of contention, they tooke Order to diuide the Treasure, and to limit out euery man the bounds of his portion. A time certaine is set downe to perfect both these Decrees, but with order, to haue the diuision of the mooney first dispatched.

Wherupon the *Royseless* seuerally remoue to places neerely adioyning to that place where the Treasures were stored. *Hiempsal* tooke vp his lodging, by great chaunce, in his house, who was Captaine of the Guard to *Iugurth*, a man very inward and gracious with his maister.

Him (by fortune thus making a fit Instrument for Treason) *Iugurth* solliciteth, by massie promises corrupteth, & without deniall importuneth to forge and deliuer him the counterfeit keyes of his house, for the true keyes were nightly carried vp into *Hiempsals* Chamber. The remainder, as occasion serued, himselfe with his armed retinue would take order to dispose of.

The *Numidian* speedily executeth his masters commands, and according to his instructions at night, giueth entrance vnto *Iugurths* Souldiers: who were no sooner in possession of the house, but they disperse themselves, some to seeke the King, some to murder *Hiempsals* seruants, & others to make good their entrance, in case any person made resistance. This done, they left no secret place vnranfaked; they broke vp Presses, and diued into euery blind corner, confounding all places with noise and vpror; and at last, lighted vpon *Hiempsal*, hidden in the lodging of a poore Maide-servant, whether

whether the sudden apprehension of feare and ignorance of the place, in the beginning of the tumult, had frigated him to flye vnto. The Murderers, as they had in command, strike off his head, and present it to *Iugurth*. The same whereof in a trice flyeth ouer all *Affrique*.

4. *Adherbal*, and the Subiects of *Micipsa*, stand astonished at the report of so haynous a treacherie: The people in generall fall to partes-taking: The greater number continue constant to *Adherbal*, the men of Warre follow *Iugurth*. Whereupon, without further delay, he rayseth the strongest forces he can, hee seizeth vpon Townes, some by force, and some by faire speeches: hee vniterh them to his former portion, and casteth in his mind how to become sole-Lord of *Numidia*.

*Adherbal*, notwithstanding that he had sent his messengers to *Rome*, to informe the Lordes of the Senat of the death of his Brother, and his particuler misfortunes; yet seeing himselfe well accompanied with armed troopes, he doubteth not the aduerture of his welfare, vpon the hazard of a battell. But comming vnto tryall, his army was defeated, & himselfe glad to flye into his owne prouince; from whence he tooke his way towards *Rome*.

5 Now *Iugurth* being Maister of his desires, & peaceable Lord of al *Numidia*, reuoluing in his mind the future scandall of this heynous murther, saw none, of whom he should need to stand in feare of, but the *Roman people*: To mitigate whose wrath, no hopes remained, but such, as Money and the auarice of the *Nobilitie* afforded. Wherefore to preuent stormes on that side, hee within a few dayes after dispatcheth his Ambassadors towards *Rome*, plentifully loaden with Gold and Siluer: giuing them instructions: First, to present his ancient acquaintance: Secondly, to drawe in New; And lastly, to bee sparing towards no man, so hee were in place to countenance his practises. So arriuing at *Rome*, according to the direction of their Lord, they saluted their Patrons, and the greatest of authority in the Senate with rich presents. A sudden alteration followed: the greater part of the gentrie which but euen now, were most violently carryed in passion a-

against Iugurth, forthwith became a Protector and fauor of his cause. Some in hope, and others vpon receipt, priuately laboured euery Lorde of the Senate, to lay no heavy or vsupportable pressure vpon Iugurth.

This done, the Embassadors are confirmed, and a day of hearing set downe for both parties: wherein Adherbal thus layed open his cause.

### Adherbals Oration.

<sup>6</sup> Honourable Lords, my Father vpon his death-bed gaue me in charge, that I should carry my selfe, but as Lieutenant of the kingdome of Numidia. It was his last will, that the Soueraignty should remaine at your deuotions.

Moreover, he commanded me, to do you my utmost seruice in times of peace and warre, as also to make no other account of your fidelities, then of the loyalties of so many friendes and Kinsmen; which precepts (said he) if you obserue, By the security of their friendships, you shall neuer bee to seeke of an Army, of Riches, and the protection of a Kingdome. These rules had I no sooner planted in my mind, with determination of obedience, but Iugurth, the most impious man, that breatheth vpon the circuite of the earth, in despite of your imperiall prerogatiues, hath utterly disabled me the Nephew of Masinissa, yea friend and confederate of the Roman people, to accomplish these duties, by him, being expulsed from my kingdome and Native Country.

Tell (Honourable Lords:) such is my estate, that I had rather implore your assistance to these my present miseries, in remorse of mine owne calamities, then in respect of any my Auncesors deserts: rather wishing that these fauours were due vnto me by the Roman people for mine owne sake (thogh I had no occasion to vse them) or if I had, that my selfe might onely remaine their debtor.

But for that a good conscience (for it selfes sake) is finally regarded, and fortune hath not shewed like fauours to mee as she hath to Iugurth; Honourable Lords, my selfe haue made choice to make my resort to your fauorable protections, wherein, my onely griefe is, that miserie hath inforced mee,

first,

*Suadet Senatum  
ut sibi supplicia  
ferri iubeat.*

first, to bee burdensome, before I haue bin profitable to your state.

Other Kings haue bin admitted into your friendship, either after their ouerthrowes, or at best, haue requested it, at doubtfull and desperate pinches; but our house ventured their alliance in the hottest of the Carthaginian wars, at what times their singular good willes, were rather to bee accepted, then their forces valued. The issues of such men (and me the Nephew of Masinissa) suffer not (Honourable Lordes) to implore ayd in vaine, but rather, if there were no other reasons of satisfaction, then my distressed fortunes (who whilome was a King, happy in descent, famous in renowne, and powerfull in subsistence, now base, miserable, needy, & begging assistance of another;) yet let the Maiesty of the Roman Empire prohibit injuries, and restraints a wicked warlet to vsurpe vpon another mans right, wrongfully. For (Honourable Lords) I am dispoiled of that inheritance which the Roman people allotted my Auncesors, and whereof my Father and Grand-father stood seized ioyntly with you, after the expulsion of Sciphax and the Carthaginians.

These your Noble donatiues (Honourable Lords) are iniuriously taken from me, & you in my disgraces shamefully dishonored. Wretch that I am! O father Micipsa, howe are thy fauours requited! Shall the man whom thou broughtest in to be coheire of thy kingdome, and of mecre fauour aduanc'd to equall dignity with thy children, become the chiefe instrument to destroy thy Progeny? What! shall our house neuer see quiet daies? Shall wee alwaies conuerse with blood, warre, and banishment?

As long as the Carthaginians flourished, wee indured the greenances of all hostility without complaint: then our enemies lay vpon our backs, your aide was farre remote, and therefore our hopes resided in our owne valours; wee knewe what to trust to. But after that Affrique was disburdened of that plague, euery man reioyced in the security of peace, because no enemy remained, but him perhaps whom you might haue giuen in commaundement to be defied.

But behold contrary to expectation, this Iugurth, bewraying his insufferable presumption, his bloody Conscience, and

C c 2

his

*Honellum, quia id  
pater & avus me-  
ri sunt.*

*Pelle, quia socius  
Romani populi  
permanere.*

his ambitious spirit, in the slaughter of my brother and his owne kinsman, did make his kingdome the first purchase of his wicked disposition: His second proiects were, to circumvent mee by like Treason; which when hee could not effect, methesse, by force and warre, hee hath now dispoiled me, (mistruſting no such violence) of mine inheritance, of my birth-right, and (as you can witnesse) inforced me to vndergoe the miserable casualties of want and beggerie: being in euerie place more secure, then in mine owne kingdome.

Of your assistance (my Lords) I make this construction, that (as I haue often heard my Father say) those who with integrity regard your friendship, took much paines in obtaining their futes, but of all people liuing, their estate is securest. Our family neuer failed in the one; in all your wars their assistance hath bin at your seruice: now lieth it in your power to requite me with the other.

B. Pater & aui.  
S. ab infidit In-  
gurtbe.

Honourable Lords, Our Father left vs two brethren, the third, this Iugurth, By his bountie hee supposed to haue left likewise a Brother deuoted to our good; but the one hee hath alreadye slaine; my selfe, the other, hath hardlie escaped his blood-thirstie crueltie. In this distresse what shall I doe? Infortunate that I am! to what especiall friend shall I turne my complaints? The assistance of my kinsmen, lieth buried with their bodies, in the graue: my Father is departed this world: (the decree of Nature) my brother slaughtered by the treason of this his Kinsman, a murder most vnnaturall: the remainder of my affinity, consanguinity, friends, and followers, hee hath by diuers practises oppressed: some hee hath put to ransom; some hee hath dispatched at the Gallowes; and others hee hath cast before the hungry iawes of rauinous beastes. A few (yet beholding vnto him for their liues) he hath imprisoned in darke dungeons, there to spend the date of their dayes in sighes and laments; a life far more intollerable then death it selfe.

Thus honourable Lords, if I had neither lost some part of my people, neither had cause to complaine of the reuolt of others: yet, if any misfortune should haue against expectation befallen me, I would haue implored the protection of your fauours, vnto whom, for the maiestie of your Empire, euery Subiects

right

right or wrong ought to bee regardfull. But being (as I am) a banished man from my native soile, from mine owne House, alone, and in extremitie, whether shall I goe? VVhom shall I appeale vnto? Vnto our Neighbour Common-Weales, or Kings? My Lords, they all hate vs in regard of your alliance. In those places, on no side can I turn my visage, but I shall behold many hostile remembrances of our Auncestors seruice. Can they then take compassion of him, who was once their capitoll enemy? No my Lordes: Micipia taught vs to crouch to no men, but to the Roman people: yea, to defie strange leagues and alliances. Your friendships were Bulwarkes impregnable to secure vs.

If fortune should frowne vpon this Empire, then I know our estate were also desperate: but by your owne proweesse, and the fauours of the Gods, your Common-weale flourisheth in wealth and increase; prosperity triumpheth in your Citties, and loyaltie in your Prouinces: blessings which make easie the reliefe of your associate.

VVhereof I despaire not, but onely feare, lest the priuate insinuation of Iugurth (of whom you haue yet made small trial) peruert the iudgement of some, whom (as I heare) with tooth and naile hee seuerally labourerh to worke, to corrupt, to inueigle, not to passe any degree in his absence, without hearing his answers: obiecting that my complaints are false, my flight dissimulation, and that I might haue stayed with security in any kingdom, if it had so beene my pleasure. O! I would to God, I might but liue to see the same man, who hath by his impious treacherie, inwrapped me in this conflict of miseries, in like case dissembling: that these humane Controuersies might at some one time or other be referred, either to your decisions, or to the iustice of the immortal Gods: That so, being now proud and famosed for his villanies, and as a man exposed to all calamities, he might suffer the deserued reward of his impieties committed against our Father; of murther inflicted vpon our Brother; and of Treason, the source of my miseries.

Deereſt Brother, although thy death were untimelie, end thou of life bereaued by him, whom of all men liuing it worst beſeemed, yet am I of opinion, that this thy misfortune, is rather

Sic Iug.  
O serq; quaterque  
beati, Quis ante  
ora patrum, Troia  
sub montibus altis,  
Contigit oppetere.

rather to be ioyed at, the lamented. For with thy life, thou lost but thy kingdom: of flight, of banishment, of poverty, & of such afflictions, which oppresse my very soule, thou art insensible. But I unhappy mā, throwne headlong out of my Patrimony into an Ocean of miseries, wander the world as a spectacle of humane change, vncertaine what course to run. Shall I reuenge thy wrongs; Alas! I am not of power. Shall I doe good to our Country? Ah! My life and death slandereth at the denotion of others, for death I wish, It were an honourable period to my misfortunes, rather then by affecting of longer life, to make shew; that in loue thereof, beeing quite spent with miseries, I lined content to brooke his insolent iniuries.

But as I am, I haue neither pleasure to liue, nor meanes to die without impeachment of mine honour. And therefore, (thrice-Honourable Lords) I adiuue you, by your children & parents, yea, by the maiesty of the Roman Empire, to put redresse to my miserable estate, to preuent these wronges, and not to suffer this your kingdome of Numidia to bee ruinated by Treason, and the blood of our family.

After the King had made an end of his speech, the Agents of Iugurth, more confident in their gold, then the goodnesse of their cause, made this short reply. That Hympsal was slaine by certaine Numidians for his crueltie. That Adherbal had begun the warre unprouoked: and being overcome, fell to complaints, hauing no further means to prosecute his enuy. That Iugurth humbly petitioned, the Lords of the Counsell would be pleased to make no other construction of his upright carriage, then of such as he shewed in their seruice at Numantia: neither yet to preserve the words of his enemy, before his deeds. Which ended, both parties are commanded to depart the Court.

Whereupon the Lords demaund opinions. The fauourites of Iugurth, and with them, the maior part of the Senate, traduced by gifts, made small account of Adherbals complaints. The deserts of Iugurth they advanced with fauour, commendation, allowance, and thanks, no lesse outstriuing by all meanes possible to extenuate so apparant a treason and villany committed by a Stranger; then if they had bin pleading in a righteous cause, to reap glory

Sucto.  
Nep, me, neq; libe-  
ro, mihi chariores  
habebo quim, &c.

Quia natura f-  
rox & superbus  
re vera erat.

Iugurthe mores  
Scipionis imperato-  
ri, populorū Roma-  
no sapientem noti  
essent.

Callidi tacent, q-  
uissu Iugurtha.

Inde laudatissi-  
mus redierat.

glory and commendation.

But in opposition; some fewe, to whom right and indifference, were more respectiue then rewards, gaue sentence with Adherbal. That he was to be succoured, and the murder of Hympsal to be senerely punished. Amongst the of especiall note was *Emilius Scaurus*, a Gentleman, stout of courage, factious, and ambitious of rule, honour, and riches, but close and cunning of carriage. This man, after he had obserued the infamous, & abhominable bribery of Iugurth, fearing (as in like cases happeneth) that free speech against the abuses of corrupted greatnesse, might procure enuie, contained his humors from their accustomed Liberty.

8. Notwithstanding, in Senate the greater part prevailed: Meed and fauour ouerfwayed Equity; and an order recorded, that ten Commissioners should be sent into the prouince of *Micipsa*, to make a diuision thereof betweene Adherbal and Iugurth.

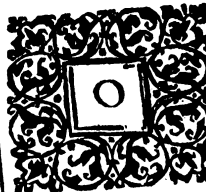
The president of this Embassie was *L. Opinius*, a man Honourable by birth, and great in Senate, who beeing Consul, after the deaths of *C. Gracchus*, and *M. Flaccus*, made sharp and cruell vse of that victory which the Nobility gained against the Commons. Him, at *Rome*, his professed aduersary Iugurth, notwithstanding entertaineneth with especiall curtesie.

9. By Largesse and promises hee likewise suborneth him, to let more by profit, then fame, faith or reputation; he attempteth the residue by like cunning: Some he worketh, a few made more Conscience of Honesty, then of Money.

In the diuision of the kingdome, the portion thereof, that bordereth *Mauritania*, populous, and firtill, is assigned to Iugurth: the other part (fairer in shew then profite) but beautified with hauens, and adorned with costly buildings, was giuen to Adherbal.

## CHAP. 2.

## 1. The description of Affricke. 2. The first inhabitants.

Rder calleth vpon mee briefly to discourse of the scittation of *Affrique*, as also to shew what Nations liued with vs in warre, or amity. But as for those places & countries, which either for their extreame rough mountaines, or vast deserts, lie vnfrequented, I wil but point at random: the residue I will discourse of in shortest maner.

In the diuision of the Terrestriall Globe, some attribute vnto *Affrick* a third part: other some, speaking onely of *Asia* and *Europe*, containe *Affrique* in *Europe*. Westward it boundeth vpon the *Mediterranean* and *Ocean* seas: Eastward vpon those steepe mountaines, which the inhabitants tearme *Catabathmon*. The sea is stormy, the shores without hauens, the soile firill of grain, plentifull for Cattel, but vnapt for trees. It hath few springs, and litle rain: The people are heathfull of body, swift of foote, and indurable of labour. Many, who come not to vntimelic deaths, by the sword or wild beasts, would outliue the accustomed course of mans age, if nature failed not; for it is sildome heard that any die by sicknesse: yet is the whole land stored with infinite swarmes of venomous wormes, and beasts of prey.

a Pauca ciuitates,  
morant Originem.

But what people possessed the Country in the beginning: who afterwards arriued, or how they became mingled one with another, though diuersity of opinions possessed one with another, though diuersity of opinions possessed priuate fancies, yet as we are letten to vnderstand by the interpretation of those *Punique* bookes, which were said to be *Hiempsals*, we will as briefly as we may, relate as the case standeth what the Natiues report for truth in this matter. Let every man giue credite, as he pleaseth to fancy it.

The

2 The *Getuli* and *Libians*, an vnciuill and barbarous people, feeding vpon raw flesh, and the fruits of the Earth (as Beastes) did first inhabit this Countrey. They were neyther gouerned by Nature, neither by Law, nor superiority: wilde, stragling, without leader, and there resting, where night ouertooke them. But after that *Hercules* (saith the *Affricans*) dyed in *Spaine*, his Army composed of diuers Nations, hauing lost their Captaine, in short time disbanded, by reason of the disagreement, and ambition of their Leaders. Of these companies the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Armenians*, beeing transported into *Affrique* by shipping, seized vpon the Sea-coastes of the *Mediterranean*. The *Persians* tooke vp their Seates more inward toward the *Ocean*, and turning the Keeles of their Boats vpwards, vsed them, in lieu of better buildings: for neyther the soile afforded Timber, neyther was it lawfull to buy or barter for any in *Spaine*. Further Traffique, the *Great Sea* & ignorance of forreine languages, prohibited.

In processe of time, by Intermariages with the *Getuli*, they became one Nation, and for their wandering from place to place, to prooue the goodnesse of pasturage for their Cattle, they tearmed themselves, *Numida*. Euen vnto this day, those vpland buildings of the *Numidians*, which they tearme *Mapalia*, Cottages, are a kind of building edged long on the top, and broad-waisted below, in a manner resembling the bottomes of ouerwhelmed Shipping.

Vnto the *Medes* and *Armenians*, arriued the *Libians*, for they conuersted more neerer the *Affrican* Sea. The *Getuli* liued more neerer the Sunne, almost vnder the Tropique; and by reason of the small distance of Sea between *Spaine* and them, they built Townes in short time, and gaue themselves to Traffique and Nauigation. By assiduity the *Libians* corrupted their Names, and of *Medi* in their barbarous languages, called them *Mauri*.

The fortunes of the *Persians* in short time flourished: whereupon vnder the name of *Numida*, in regard of their multitudes, taking leaue of their Parents, they seated themselves, in the Territories next adioyning to *Carthage*, and

D d after

b A Graeca voce  
veneni, i. pascere:  
rudo: denotatur de-  
clio, Nomades, i.  
vagabundi pascen-  
tes.

alter their own names *Numidia*.

After some continuance of time, the one Nation making vse of the other, they enforced their neighbours either for loue or feare to subiection. They became famous, & augmented their glories in greater measure, then those that were neater seated towards our Seas. For the *Lybians* were not so warlike as the *Getuli*. So for the most part, the lower part of *Affrica* was wholly possessed by the *Numidians*, and the victor imposed his owne name vpon the conquered people and country.

Againe, the *Pheniceans*, some to diminish their homebred multitudes, and some of the Comminalty desirous of aduancement, and other some, in loue of nouelties, arriued vpon the Sea-coasts, and there built *Hippon*, *Adrumetum*, *Leptis* and many other Citties, which in short time grew admirable famous; many whereof in future ages at some seasons, gaue great assistance, and at all times continued an honour to their first and ancient Countrimen.

I holde it more wisedome to silence the Originall of *Carthage*, then to write thereof sparingly, because time calleth me to make hast of another discourse.

Neere vnto *Cathabathmon* (the frontier betweene *Affricke* and *Egipt*) in the higher sea, first appeareth *Ciren*, *Colonia Thereon*, the two *Sirtes*, betweene them *Leptis*, and then *Ara philonorum*: Heere endeth the *Carthaginian* Dominion towards *Egipt*: Beyond, are some Citties of the *Punique* iurisdiction; the residue, the *Numidians* possesse as farre as *Mauritania*. The *Moore*s lie nearest *Spaine*. Beyond the *Numidians* (men say) that the *Getuli* liue, some in homely Cottages, some, more rudely, to wander as *Vagarants*. Beyond them, the *Ethiopians*, and beyond them againe, all places to be scorched with extreameity of heat.

## CHAP. 3.

*c Numida Carthago sum, & Carib. gentis Numidarum.*

*c Piliis villorum nomen inditur.*

*c Cum eius Origo & fama facti sit, ingentem deposcat historiam.*

*g Duo arenosa loca in mari.*

## CHAP. 3.

1. The estate of *Affricke* in the beginning of these warres. 2. Jugurths cunning carriage. 3. He prouoketh his Brother to fight, and routeth his Army.

1.



In this warre, the *Roman* people did gouerne many of the *Punique* Townes, and al those Territories, which were lately conquered from the *Carthaginians*, by their Lieutenantes: A great part of the *Getuli* and the *Numidians*, (as far as the flood *Mulucha*) were Subiect

to *Jugurth*: King *Bochus* was Lorde of the *Moore*s, by report onely knowne to the *Romaines*; otherwaies, neuer heard of either in times of war, or treaties of peace. Thus haue I spoken enough to purpose, as concerning the situation of *Affricke*, and the people who inhabit it.

2. The diuision of the kingdome beeing determined, the Commissioners returned, and *Jugurth* contrary to his owne feares, hauing obtained a reward for his Treason, began to call vnto mind, how he had heard his friends at *Numantia* report, That all things were vendible at *Rome*. Vpon assurance whereof, concurring with the late protestations of his corrupted fauourites, being encouraged, he resolved to make a prooffe vpon the kingdome of *Adherbal*. The inuader was violent, and valourous: the invaded, peaceable; No souldier; Of a frolicke disposition; Disgistiue of iniuries; Fearefull, rather then to be feared.

Whereupon, *Jugurth* taketh the occasion, and vpon the sodaine strongly inuadeth his frontiers, maketh booty of men and Cattle, fiereth villages, & sheweth himselfe in warlike aray with his horsemen before many good towns. This *Bravado* performed, he retireth with his people into his owne kingdome, coniecturing, that *Adherbal* coulde

D d 2

not



not but take this hostile outrage to heart, and in like measure cry quittance: which if he did, then was his desires satisfied, for this would he pretend to bee the cause of the quarrell.

But *Adherbal*, for that hee knew himselfe inferiour in forces, and reposed greater confidence in the friendship of the *Roman* people, then in his *Numidians*, dispatcheth Messengers to *Iugurth*, to complaine of these outrages. Who although they reported nothing backe again, saue conuinculous Language, yet sat he still, with full resolution to suffer all manner of disgraces, rather then to begin the War, because to his losse he had lately felt the smart thereof. The ambition of *Iugurth* neuer the more relented, he had already in conceit swallowed the whol kingdom: And thereupon, not now, as before, he maketh a cursory and pillaging iourny into the Country, but marcheth souldier-like in the middest of his armed battalions, and layeth an open claime to the Crowne of al *Numidia*. As he goeth, he wasteth Cities, and depopulateth Villages, taketh prizes, incorageth his followers, and dançeth his enemies.

3 *Adherbal* perceiuing no meane courses auailable, but that he must either fight, or flye, vpon very necessity leuieth forces, and resolueth to seeke *Iugurth*. They had not marched many dayes, but both Armies approacheth neare vnto *Cirtha*, a Towne situated not far from the sea. This happened towards the Euening, no fit time to daraigne a battaile. But about mid-night, after the going downe of the Moone, vpon a signall giuen, the souldiers of *Iugurth* giue a *Camisado* vpon the campe of *Adherbal*, some they slay halfe awakened in their beds, others running to their armes, they put to flight, and cut in peeces. *Adherbal* with some fewe horsemen posteth vnto *Cirtha*, wher, if a strong troope of Citizens had not forced the pursuing *Numidians* to retire frō the wals, without doubt one day had decided the quarrell of a kingdom. *Iugurth* layeth his siege round about the Towne, prepareth vines, raiseth Towers, and beginneth a breach with all sorts of Engines; yea, and to frustrate the arriual of the Ambassadors,

*Lucan. Nulli fides  
regni locus, omnis  
que potest, et impa-  
tienti consortis erit.*

sadors, who as he heard say, were sent from *Adherbal* to-wardes *Rome*, before the day of battell, hee hasteneth the sledge with all possible diligence.

## CHAP. 4.

1. *Ambassadors are the second time sent into Affrica with sharper Instructions.* 2. *Iugurths cunning and fayning excuses.* 3. *After the Ambassadors departure, he againe besiegeth his Brother.*



Sooone as the Senate had vnderstanding of their differences, they dispatched three young Gentlemen into *Affrique*, with Commaundement, to goe personally to both the Kings, and in the name of the Senate & *Roman* people, by word of mouth to say vnto them; That *It was their will and pleasure, that they should both lay downe their Armes.* In so doing, they should performe a worke woorthy theyr Friendes and themselves.

The Ambassadors make the more hast towarde *Affrique*, for that the newes was in *Rome* before their departure, that the Princes had fought, and that *Cirtha* was besieged. But that rumor was sparingly verified.

2. *Iugurth* hauing vnderstood the Tenor of their Ambassy protested, That nothing could bee of greater worth, or more deere vnto him, then the authority of the Senat: that such had beene his carriage from his youth, that the loue of good men had voluntarily befallen him: that he had beene gracious vnto *P. Scipio*, that worthy Gentleman, for his vertues, not for peruersenesse: And lastly, That for these qualities, and not for want of Issue, *Micipsa* had adopted him into the Kingdom. So that, by how much the more he had shewed himselfe a good man in ciuill behauiour, and a valiant Cap- taine

*a Nihil decenter in  
hac re geritur: con-  
posuerunt enim, quod  
legatis, ne illi ac-  
cebant ad iniuriā  
vindictā.*

*b Dierum senatu,  
quod tunc aut acem  
esse dicit et digni-  
tatis, quod tunc se-  
tam propinquū es-  
sent.*

*et Magna ingenia  
agere ferit iniurias*

*ad vim vi repelle.*

Captaine in seruice, by so much the lesse could his great spirit brooke to pocket up a wrong. Inferring, that Adherbal had laide waight traiterously to murder him; vpon discouery whereof, hee had but taken the course of preuention: which if the Roman people gainesaid, they neither vsed him according to his calling, nor afforded him Iustice; to forbid him to apply those remedies which the Law<sup>d</sup> of Nations and nature preiudged. Finally, he protesteth, that in good time he wold send his Agents to Rome, to giue ample satisfaction to all parties: and so taketh his leaue. Licence of reply Adherbal could not obtaine.

3 Now, Iugurth coniecturing about what time the Ambassadors might take shipping to depart, returneth againe to Cirta, and for that the Scituation thereof was impregnable by nature to be forced, he inuesteth it round with a trench and a ditch, he erecteth Towers, & maneth them: Night and day he proffereth assaults, & worketh Stratagems: Sometime he loadeth the defendantes with Mountaines of faire words, and other times he adiueth all terrible punishments: his owne people he prayeth to be reolute, and for his owne part, is negligent in nothing that might put life to the enterprize.

Adherbal now perceiuing vpon what desperate terms his safety consisted, that the enemy pressed harde vpon him, no hope of raising the siege; as also, that for want of meat and munition the war could not bee prolonged; of those, that fled with him in company into Cirta, hee maketh choise of two lusty and trusty companions, inducing thence by great promises and his miserable estate, by night to faine flight into the enemies trenches, from them to passe to the sea-side, and so to take passage for Rome. Within a few days these Numidians execute their maisters command: Adherbals Letters are deliuered in the Senate, the Tenour whereof, was as followeth.

*It is not my default (Honorable Lords) that I thus often trouble your Honors with petitions, the violence of Iugurth is the motive: Him, so incompatible a thirst of my blond possesseth, that neither your prescripts, nor the remembrance of*  
heauen,

heauen, can turne his mind vnto consideration of duty. My life about all earthly things he aymeth at: Five moneths are now past, since I (your friend and confederate) haue indured his siege: the fauours of my father Micipsa are forgotten; your Iniunctions, no defence: I cannot resolute you, whether warre or hunger do most torment me. My hard fortunes doe diswaide me to write more concerning this Iugurth: I haue already made triall, that miserable men find small credence: On'y this I dare assure you, that he affecteth somewhat else, besides my life: you know he cannot bereaue me of my kingdome, & neth lesse stand in your good grace, which he would make choise of to lose, who doubteth? He hath already slaine my brother Himpfal, and dispoiled me of my fathers kingdome: These are my priuate iniuries, they concerne not you. But now he vsurpeth vpon the whole; the Man, who you haue made Lord Governour of Numidia, he besedgeth, and how he hath scorned the behests of your Ambassadors, my perils plead publication. What one remedy is left, but your assistance; yet such, as were of power to raise him from this siege? Surely I could wish, that these my present lines, as also my former complaints in Senat, were causelesse, so that my misery might win you to credit. But since the destinies haue reserved me to this hour, wherein I am made a laughing stock and matter of triumph, to the disloyalty of Iugurth, I do not now thinke vpon death, nor the diuersion of miseries, but onely pray that I might share in his punishments, so I were sure to participate of his fortunes. As for the kingdome of Numidia (which I confesse is yours) provide for it, as you thinke best; let me intreat you thus much, for the maiesty of your Empire, and our plighted faiths in friendship, onely to deliuer my body from the tyranny of this impious conspirator: And this, as you tender the remembrance of my Grand-father Massinissa.

*Cuius obliuio est,  
scilicet iugurthi.*

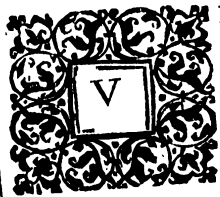
*Pauon creditur  
in fides.*

*q. d. grauius ferret  
remittit tunc regnum  
meum, quam am-  
icitiam vestram.*

## CHAP. 5.

1. Ambassadors of greater quality are againe sent into Affricque.
2. Remissly they leaue things as they find them.
3. Cirta is forced.
4. Adherbal slayne.

Vpon



Pon the reading of these Letters, some of the Lords were very hot, to haue an Army forthwith leui- ed for *Affrique*: affirming, that they were in honour ingaged to send present succors to *Adherbal*, and at leysure to consult vpon *Jugurths* contempt, for disobeying the order of the Ambassadors: But on the contrary, his fauourites with much ado bestird them, to dash this de- cree. Thus (as in like cases) priuate fauour peruerted pub- licke honesty.

Notwithstanding, least they should seeme to doe no- thing, they hast in Ambassage grauer personages, men of great place and quality againe into *Affricke*; amongst whom, was *M. Scannus*, of Consulare dignity, & powerful in Senate; of whom we told you before. These men, for that *Jugurth* had incurred the generall hatred, and the *Numidians* also with no lesse importunity did sollicite, a speedy departure, in three daies space were got a shippe- bord, and with a faire passage arriued at *Vtica*: whence, in hast they posted away their Letters to *Jugurth*, with intimation, that he should (all excuses and delays set a- part) vpon sight thereof, retire into his owne prouince: not forgetting likewise to acquaint him, how they were especially sent vnto him from the Lords of the Senate.

2 *Jugurth* hearing that such eminent persons, and of such authority in *Rome*, were employed, to crosse his dis- seignes; at first, somewhat perplexed betweene feare and perseuerance, stood diuersly distracted what to determin. He feared the displeasure of the Senate for his contempt towards the former Ambassadors: but lastly, the blinde humour of Ambition ouermastred his senses: And so an vngracious Counsel, forced out of a rash resolute, preui- led to the worst.

Whereupon, giuing a generall assault to the Towne, he laboured his utmost, to become maister thereof: con- fidently hoping, that by drawing his enemies forces to diuers

a Quia legatis non  
paruisse.

to diuers defences, either the sword, or poli y, would cast vpon him the Trophy of victory. Which not suc- ceeding; neither his proiects of circumventing *Adherbal*, (before he should come to Negotiation with the Ambal- sadors) sorting to effect, feare by longer stay further to exasperate *Scannus* his anger, whom hee much feared; in the company of some few horsemen hee retired into his owne Prouince: where being giuen to vnderstand in the name of the Senate, in what heynous measure, they took his contumacy, in not desisting from the siege of *Cirtha*, and what greenous punishment they threatned, after much debating on both sides, the Ambassadors retired towards *Rome* without accomplishing any agreement to purpose.

3 After newes heereof was brought vnto *Cirtha*, the *Italians*, vpon whose Vertue the safety of the Towne consisted, perswaded themselves, that if they motioned a composition and yeilded the place, they (in regarde of the *Roman* name) should bee sure to finde good dealing, moue *Adherbal* to giue his consent to yeelde himselfe & the Towne to *Jugurth*, with conditions of security for his life; All other the Controuersies to be referred vnto the good pleasure of the Senate.

*Adherbal* though hee had rather haue vndergone any extremitie then trusted *Jugurths* oath, yet because it lay in their powers to constraine him, how obstinat foeuer, yeilded to accept of whatsoeuer Articles the *Italians* did thinke meetest.

4 The first sacrifice that *Jugurth* offereth, after some cruell tortures, is his brothers blood: the second, a promiscuous slaughter of the young *Numidians* and Mar- chants, as any one hapned to meete with his armed ene- mie.

## CHAP. 6.

1. The Humour of the Lords, the opposition of Memmius, the subtilty of *Jugurth* 2. The Romans first preparation to warre. 3. frustrated by *Jugurth*.

Ec

After

b Quia falsis in-  
cipit rationibus, &  
causas singulas  
adducere Jugur-  
tha.

c Cirthe pro presi-  
dio inuocati, post  
dini, fonn regni.

d Numidius, verefi-  
cile est, peperit,  
an tamen Italici,  
non constat.



a In proximum  
annum.

After intelligence heereof was certified at *Rome*, and the matter began to be expostulated in Senate, the olde fauourites of the King, sometime by interruption, and sometime by faire speeches, intermingled with foule, found occasions by protraction of time to adde hopes of mitigation of

the offence. And if *C. Memmius*, a Tribune elect of the people, a man of an vndaunted spirit, and much offended at the insolencies of the Gentry, had not preferred an information to the people against *Jugurth*, howe matters were carried, (viz:) that by a few factious Citizens the offender was likely to bee pardoned; without doubt all displeasure had bin forgotten by procrastination of consultations: Of so great moment were fauour and Money.

2. But the popular feare awakeneth the Drouisie spirits of the Lordes of the Senate, to recall to their memories the inexcusable management of this foul fact. By the Lawe *Sempronia*, *Numidia* and *Italy*, are the appointed prouinces for the future Consuls: *P. Scipio Nasica*, and *L. Calphurnius Bestia* are nominated. The lot of *Numidia* fell vpon *Calphurnius*; of *Italy*, vpon *Scipio*. Wages and al other ammonitions necessary for warre are proportioned for the Army of *Affricke*: *Jugurth*, contrary to imagination (being beyond doubt perswaded that all thinges would to contentment be managed at *Rome* for money) by message hearing heereof, sendeth his own sonne with two of his trustiest Counsellors in Ambassage to the Senate. To these he giuer in strict charge (as he had done at the death of *Hympsal*) to worke vpon all creatures with money.

After their arriual at *Rome*, the Senate was demanded by *Bestia*, if it were their pleasures that *Jugurths* Messengers should bee suffered to enter within their walles. For answere, they replied, that vnlesse he would personallie appeare before the Counsell Table, and there simply sur-

render

render himselfe and his kingdome; that his Legats within ten daies next immediately following, should get them packing out of the confines of *Italy*; at perill. The Consul acquainteth the *Numidians* with the decree of the Counsell: accordingly they departed without satisfaction to any thing they demanded.

Meane time *Calphurnius*, mustreth his army, entertaineth gentlemen, and amongst them some factious spirits, whose greatnesse he made account should be his protection, against errors and calumnies: of these *Scaurus* made one, of whose carriage and behauiour wee haue already related.

The Consul by nature was qualified with many good parts, both of minde and body, if Auarice onely had not blemished their purities: Indurable of labour, quicke of apprehension, reasonable circumspect, an indifferent soldiour, and valourous in daungers and suddaine enterprizes.

By this time the legions were arriued at *Rhegium*, from thence they set saile for *Sicill*, and so to *Affricke*.

3. In the beginning of his first arriual, being wel provided of necessaries, he made sharpe warre vpon *Numidia*, tooke Prisoners, and some Citties by stronghande. But after he had once talked with the bribing Messengers of *Jugurth*, who made the sharpenesse of the present war the colour of their Ambassage, the mind of *Calphurnius*, dislempt with the Lethargy of Auarice, relented. *Scaurus* was taken to be the Prime-moter & Minister of al his Counsels: who although in the beginning he had opposed with no small integrite against *Jugurths* faction, notwithstanding at last, the Massie minerall of Gold, from Good and Virtuons, gaue him the imputation of wicked and Impious.

The next Stratagem that *Jugurth* bribed for, was only a surcease from Arms: Vpon hopes that time by rewards or fauour would produce some milder fortune.

But lastly, when he heard that *Scaurus* was put in ioynt-Commissioner to take order in the businesse, his former hopes were redoubled, to recover an assured peace, and

E c 2

there-

bOppidū Calabria

Atque vultus, in-  
betisne cum Iu-  
gurtha bellum  
componatur.

et quid sit  
vultus suspice-  
tur.

thereupon grew resolute personally, to fall to composition concerning all Controuersies.

Hereupon (for good-meanings-sake) *Sextus* the Treasurer, is lent as a pledge to *Vacca*, *Iugurth's* Towne, but vnder pretence of receiuing the corne which *Calphurnius* had commaunded the Messengers in open audience to prouide, for that the treaty of truce was to be prolonged, according to *Iugurth's* delay in capitulating.

Whereupon the King (according to promise) maketh his appearance in the Campe, where speaking some few wordes before the Councell, in extenuation of the harsh construction which men made of his offence, he desireth to be receiued to mercy: what hee had more to say, hee communicateth with *Bestia* and *Scaurus* in secret.

And so the day following, a generall opinion beeing demaunded, according to the Law *Satyra*, hee yeeldeth and is receiued, with condition set downe by the Councell, that he should pay thirty Elephants, a proportion of Cattell, like number of Horses, and no small quantity of Siluer; which were accordingly deliuered vnto the Treasurer. This done, *Calphurnius* iourneyeth towards *Rome*, to procure allowance of the decreed truce from the Senate, leauing good directions, both in *Numidia*, and our army, for obseruation of the peace.

### CHAP. 7.

1. The Commons repine at the peace concluded with Iugurth.
2. Incited by C. Memmius.



But after that same had made report of the occurrences of this warre, and how it was managed, at *Rome* in euery place, and in all companies, euery mans head was busied with the behaviour of the Consull. The commons, as a woman with Childe, laboured with enuy; The Lords could not resolue whether they should

ratifi-

ratifie or disanull, so dishonourable a composition concluded by a Consull. The greatnesse of *Scaurus*, who was reported to be the Author and chiefe Counsellour of this businesse, to *Bestia*, peruerthed all right and Iustice.

2 But *C. Memmius*, of whose free forme of speech, and distast of the Gentry, we haue already spoken, obseruing the timorousnesse and procrastination of the Senate, in his Orations ceased not to encourage the people to reuenge the disgrace: hee aduized them not to let light by their Priuiledges of Liberty: hee aggrauated the cruell, proud, and manifold insolencies of the Nobility: finally, his whole Orations tended to no other scope, but to irritate the corages of the vulgar. And because in those times, his eloquence was famous and much spoken of in *Rome*, amongst many, I thinke it not amisse, to acquaint you with the Transcript of one, & especially with that which he made after the returne of *Bestia*. Thus it was.

### C. Memmius his Oration.

Fellow Cittizens, many are the perturbations of my mind, which do accountell me to forsake you, if my zeale to the common cause preuailed not aboue all other passions: that is to say, the powerfull greatnesse of the faction, your slavish patience, and the suppression of Iustice: but the griefe, that most curbeth me, is, to see that Innocency is sooner rewarded with perrill, than graced by desert.

Howe these fiftene yeares last past, you haue lined as a scorne to the Pride of a few; how basely without reuenge, and in dangers you haue forsaken your protectors, it greeneth me to record. But how commeth it to passe, that as yet your minds are corrupted with the same sloth and cowardice, that beeing now interessed in like defence of Iustice against your aduersaries, you rouse not up your courages, and become awfull vnto those (as is meet) who with might & main strue to dominere ouer you? Well, let the reasons bee what they will, notwithstanding, my minde strongly perswadeth me to enterprize some course of indifferency, against this the pride of the Gentry.

E 3

a T. Gracchus. C.  
Gracchus. At. Ful-  
nius.

b Discessionem  
in montem acris,  
aut Aventinum.

c Probat exemplis

d Tres suere ordi-  
nes Romanorum,  
i. Senatorius, e-  
quester, plebeius.

try. Surely, I will not be afraid to make publike profession of that liberty, which by descent accrued unto mee from my cradle. But whether I shall lose my labour, or speake to purpose, the issue lieth in your election, worshipfull Citizens.

Yet is it not my meaning, that by violence, as your predecessors did, you should seeke redresse of iniuries: For at this time, there is neither need of Armes, nor disunion; no, let Faction run headlong after the accustomed manner, to its own destruction.

c After the death of Tiberius Gracchus (who as men report ayimed at the Monarchy) many cruell informations were preferred against the Commons. After the slaughter of C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, diuers of your dranke were executed in prison: To both pressuress, e not law, but licentious satiety put ending.

But be it, that to restore the people to their auncient priuiledges, were for the good of the Common-wealth; or, that the redresse of those enormities which cannot be reformed without the effusion of blood, were iustifiable: yet haue you presidents of former ages, that your auncesors (as it were with silence) disdained to see the Exchequer pillaged, or Kinges or forren Nations to bestow pensions vpon priuate gentlemen. By meanes whereof, although superiority and infinite wealth accompanied their greatnesse, yet made they small account to escape unpunished for their misdemeanors.

In these daies, equity, your prerogatiues, and all diuine & humane royalties are yeelded vnto such your enemies, who are neither weary nor ashamed to commit the like, if not worse, insolencies: In the open streets their cariage is Prince-like, & some there are, who do nothing but boast of their Sacerdoties, their Consulships and triumphes, as if they had obtained them by reprisall, and not deserved them in honor.

Slaves bought with money, can hardly brook the imperious commands of proud maysters, and can you (Roman citizens) borne in freedome, tollerate so vile a seruitude with patience? And I pray you, what kind of men are these, which sway thus in the State? surely, the worst of all other: Bloudy in action, insatiable in auarice, the greatest offenders, and the proudest companions: with whom faith, piety, honesty and dishonesty are

cs. Portia que  
vetat in Ciuem  
animaduertere  
penna sanguinis.

are mercenary. Some whereof had laide violent hands vpon your Tribunes, some preferred forged indictments, & others accounted it a strong piece of policy, to haue trussed you vp at the Gallows. The worse the pressure committed against you, the securer the party: Beleene it, your remissnesse hath quitted all their feares of daring to do euil: so that now: their desires, their hatreds, and feares are one and alike. Indeepe, amongst good men, those are the scales of truest friendship; amongst euill men the stratagems of faction.

But if like care of Liberty had possessed your courages, as Ambition of superiority hath inflamed their spirits, assuredly, the Common-wealth should not, as now lie disgraced, nor your presentments to advancement bin employed vpon men most audacious, but most vpon the meritorious.

Your Auncesors falling to disunion, by armes in the quarrell of Lawes and Reformation of Officers, twice seized vpon Auentine, and wil not you once do your utmost to redeeme your hereditary Liberty? Yea and with so much the greater courage, by how much it is the greater disgrace, rather to loose that which by vertue hath to your handes bin gained formerly, then to haue fate still, and done nothing at all.

Some man will say, Sir, what is then your opinion? That you call for redresse against those that haue wronged the state, not vnciuilly, nor by strong hand; for this were more dishonourable to you the Actors, then to them the sufferers: but to proceed by information & the confession of Iugurth himselfe: who, if he bee your Prisoner indeede, it were but reason, that he should obey your behests.

Which if he contemne, the matter is answered, you may soone guesse, what manner of peace and surrendry this is, by which Iugurth is now at Libertie, unpunished; the great men plentifully enriched, and the common wealth a looser and dishonoured.

This is my opinion, vnles peradventure, you are not yet wearie of their predominance, and those times doe better please you then the present, wherein Kingdomes, Prouinces, Lawes, decrees, Iudgements, warres, treaties, and finally, all Offices, in Church and Common-wealth are at the dispose of a few.

And

f. Quis maxime  
stuer tur.

g. Hec optima a-  
minuta inter bo-  
nos.

h. q. d. vobis imi-  
tandi.

i. Num ex septu-  
collibus Roma.

1. extent per Iugurth.  
2. Iugurth.

1. Scipio, Scipio et Iugurth.

And so it seemeth to me: that you whose forces no enemy is able to confront, as being sole Commanders of infinite Nations, are notwithstanding content to haue well escaped with the safeties of your bare liues. For which of you dare make refusal of his imposed seruitude?

For mine owne part, although I am fully perswaded, that that most wicked man escaped, against all conscience unpunished for his villanies, yet with a right good will could I giue my consent, that you shoulde pardon his most faulty incontinences (because they are Citizens) but that this president of foolish pitty might happen to a future mischiefe. For with them it will be soone forgotten (such is their unconscionable impudency) that they escaped punishment for their misdemeanors, vnlesse future occasions of committing the like, bee henceforth quite cereaned them.

As for your selues, you shall remaine in perpetuall suspense, eyther to become slanes, or to maintaine your liberty by force of Armes. For I pray you, what hope of good meaning or concord can you assure vnto your selues, when they will be grands, you free: They will commit wrongs, you will seeke to redresse them: they will vse your associates as enemies, your enemies as associates. Can there be any security or true friendship in such diuersity of humors? Vpon premeditation of all which contrarieties, I cannot but admonish and intreat you, not to let passe so presumptuous a scandall vnexamined.

The pillaging of the publike treasure is not now questioned, nor monies by extortion drawne from our confederates complained of. These enormities though (vile & odious) vse maketh them familiar. But in our case, the maiesty of the Senat is betrayed to a most cruell enemy, your priuiledges broken, and the common cause set to sale here at home, and in forren Countries: Which abuses vnlesse they bee examined, and exemplary seuerity inflicted vpon the offenders; what remains, but that hereafter we content our selues to liue in allegiance to those, who haue committed the fault? For to dare vpon confidence of impunity, is no lesse than to vsurpe vpon the title of a Kingdome.

1. Nomen inuisum Romanis.

Worshipfull Citizens, mistake me not; I woulde not haue you to tolerate euill rather then good, in your fellow Citizens, but

but my aduice is, that you preuent it in the good, by not pardoning it in the bad. For the good of the state, it were better in this point, to be vnmindfull of a benefite, then to tolerate a mischiefe. A good man is only made more secure by conuictice, an euill man more lewd. If wrongs were not, counsell were needlesse.

## CHAP. 8.

1 Cassius is sent to Iugurth. 2 The misdemeanour of the Officers of the Army in Affrique. 3 Memmius obiectioneth against Iugurth. 4 Countenanced by Cebius.



Y reiteration of these and such like speeches, Memmius perswadeth the people to send L: Cassius the Praetor to Iugurth, with Commission, vpon reciprocal pleighing of publicke fayth, to bring him vnto Rome; to the intent that by his euidence, the offences of Scipio, and the residue, accused of subornation, might be publicly examined.

Matters being thus managed at Rome, the Colonels and Capitaines of the Army left behinde by Bestia, imitating the examples of their Generall, perpetrated many heynous and dishonourable enormities: Some, for mony re-sold the Elephants to Iugurth: Some made Merchandize of Fugitiues, and others went a boot-haling into the confederate countries: a generall contagion of Auarice (like a pestilentiall Feuer) had im poisoned their spirits in generall.

The Decree ratified, and the whole Nobility daunted, at the motion of Memmius, Cassius is commanded to repaire vnto Iugurth: findeth him fearefull, and his conscience accusing his cause, for that he had yeilded himselfe vnto the Roman people: which Cassius perceiuing, notwithstanding perswadeth and encourageth him to make trial of clemency, rather then of obstinacy. Moreouer, he interposeth his priuate faith, which Iugurth accepted with as great confidence as if it had bene the Publike: In

2. A plebis.

ff

those



those times, such was the repute of *Casius*.

*Iugurth* (contrary to the customes of Kings) attired in most base apparell, accompanied *Casius* to Rome: where being arriued, although his minde was nothing deiected in regard of comfort receiued from those his patrons (by whose greatnesse and conuience he had already waded through the scandals before spoken of) yet, by bribery he prepareth to preoccupy *C. Bebius* the other Tribune of the people; by whose opposition (gained) he made full account against iust objections, or iniurious accusations, to bee strongly guarded.

*Quorum auxilio  
fretus, ea scelera  
perpetrare ausus  
est.*

*Quis contra ius  
gentium esset, si le  
publica interposita  
supplicium sumi de  
eo qui sponte sua  
venerat.*

3 *C. Memmius*, summoneth the assembly (a party most malicious against *Iugurth*.) Some giue aduice to commit him to prison; Others, to punish him as a professed enemy *more maiorum*, vnlesse he would disclose his accoucellers and countenancers in the Action. But *Memmius* more respecting the publicke honour, then priuate furie, by milde perswasions lenifieth their fiercenesse, aswageth their swolne courages, and lastly protesteth, that for his part, hee will preferue the publicke faith ingaged, in highest purity. After silence proclaimed: and *Iugurth* at the barre: he thus began to expostulate. He made a recitall of his offences practised at *Rome*, and committed in *Numidia*; hee published his impieties against his Father and brethrene: by whose counsell, and by the corruption of what Ministers, he was encouraged to execution.

Of the particulars whereof, although the *Roman* people were fully instructed, yet their desire was, to haue them giuen in euidence out of his own mouth. If he spake truth, vpon the faith and clemency of the *Roman* people, the greater would be his hopes: but if he concealed them, it would proue dangerous to his fauourites, and desperat to himselfe, and his future fortunes. 4. Alsoone as *Memmius* had ended his speech, & *Iugurth* commanded to reply, *C. Bebius* the other Tribune, who (as we told you before) *Iugurth* had corrupted, inioyned him to silence, wherat the present Commons being vehemently moued began to be clamorous, to bend the browe, to threaten force, and to make vse of al those insolencies, which a popular passion for the instant accounselleth. Not-

Notwithstanding, impudency preuailed: and the people standing there but for Ciphers, at last departed: *Iugurth*, *Bestia*, and the residue (which the information concerned and terrified) began now to take courage.

## CHAP. 9.

1. *Massiua* incited by *Albinus*, studieth to become King of *Numidia*.
2. *Iugurth* procureth his death. And returneth into *Affrique*.



T the same season a certaine *Numidian*, called *Massiua*, the sonne of *Gulussa*, the Nephew of *Masiniussa*, vpon the dissention of the Kinges, taking party against *Iugurth*, after the yeelding vppe of *Cirtha* and the murder of *Adherbal*, retired to *Rome*. This man, *Sp.*

*Albinus* (who the yeare ensuing after *Bestia* was Consul with *Q. Minutius Rufinus*) for that he was of the blood of *Masiniussa*, accounsellled to become humble suter vnto the Lords of the Senate, for the kingdom of *Numidia*; and the rather, for that a general enuy did prosecute *Iugurth* for his manifold impieties. The old couetous Consull, was farre more desirous to bee in action, & to manage armes, rather then to end his daies in peace and quiet. *Numidia* by lot fell to *Albinus*: *Macedonia* to *Minutius*.

2 *Massiua* no sooner made open profession of his determination, but *Iugurth* in his mind reuoluing the instability and weake assistance of his Patrons (of whom, one was attached in conscience, another mindfull of his good name, and all affaide of the people) commandeth *Bomilchar*, his inward and trustiest friend, for money (his ordinary refuge) to procure some *Russians* to murder the *Numidian*. But how? <sup>a</sup> in most secret and insuspicious manner: if it could not be cleanly so effected, then to dispatch it any wayes; <sup>b</sup> no matter howe: *Bomilchar* swift to shedde blood, obeyeth, and procureth fellowes, Crafts-

Ff 2

masters

*a Ne si res palam  
fiat, contra fidem  
publicam fecisse  
inducitur.*

*b Siue clam, siue  
palam.*

c Quia non pro-  
spexerat sibi de  
fugā.

Quia Iugurtha  
venit Romam fide  
publica interposi-  
ta, se quod iura  
gentium liceret  
ei impune cum suis  
redire.

c Vas, dictus est,  
qui in iudicio spoli-  
et pro alio.

maisters in such like service, to watch, first, his going a-  
broad, and coming home; secondly, the places of his  
resort, and lastly his times of abode. Vpon the next oportu-  
nity, he conducteth these his Mercenarie murderers to  
lie in waight. One of the crew, thus resolved for blood,  
more rash then advised, incountreth *Mafsina*, and run-  
neth him through. The varlet is apprehended, and at the  
instances of many, but especially of *Albinus* the Consull,  
is dealt with to appeach his Abettors.

Vpon confession, it is thought best that *Bomilcar* bee  
rather brought to his triall vpon equity, then dismissed  
without punishment by the law of Nations, because he ac-  
companied *Iugurth* to *Rome*, vnder the protection of the  
publicke faith. As for *Iugurth* himselfe (of all men best  
acquainted with the drift of this murder) he neuer giueth  
ouer to deny and contest the fact, before he clearly per-  
ceiued, that enuy ouerfwayed grace and Gold.

Whereupon being put to his plunge, although in the  
former information he had deliuered fifty of his friends  
for pledges, yet being more in loue with a kingdome,  
then carefull for the redemption of his sureties, he con-  
uocyth *Bomilcar* secretly into *Numidia*, mistrusting that  
the feare of his appearance should disquiet the residue of  
his associates, if punishment were executed vpon him.  
Within a few daies after hee himselfe followed, beeing  
commanded by the Senate to depart out of *Italy*. As he  
went out of *Rome*, it is reported, that without word spea-  
king he often looked behinde him: and at last brake out  
into these speeches, *Farewell faire Citty, exposed to sale &  
suddaine ruine, if thou couldst find an able Chapman.*

#### C H A P. IO.

1. *Albinus hasteneth into Affrick.* 2. *deluded by Iugurth.*
3. *Aulus is left Lieutenant of the Army.* 4. *routed by Iugurth.*

THE warre is renewed, and *Albinus* taking order for  
victuals, wages, and all other ammonitions necessa-  
rie

necessary for all Souldiers, hasteneth their transportation  
into *Affrique*. Himselfe followeth with speede, in hope  
eyther by Armes or composition to finish this Warre, be-  
fore the time of Elections, which now grew on apace.

2. *Iugurth* on the contrary, drew all things out at  
length, sometime pretending one excuse of delay, & some-  
times another. Hee protesteth composition, and againe  
falleth off, by interlacing of feares and doubtcs. Now hee  
retireth, and presently (not to discourage his fellowes) he  
maketh a stand, and dareth his enemy: and so sometime  
by seeming to accept the battell, and sometimes by mori-  
oning treaties of accord, at all times hee deludeth the ex-  
pectations of the Consull.

Some were of opinion, that *Albinus* was no Stranger,  
to these driftes of *Iugurth*, for considering his hast, they  
could not be brought to beleue, but the Warre was pro-  
longed more by the default of the Consull, then by the  
cunning of *Iugurth*. Well, the season was spent to no  
purpose, and the day of Elections at hand. Whereupon  
*Albinus* retired to *Rome*, leauing his Brother *Aulus* Lieu-  
tenant in his stead. At *Rome* the Tribunitiall contentions  
did infinitely disquiet the state of the Common-wealth.  
*P. Lucullus* and *L. Annius* Tribunes of the people, obsti-  
nately stood against their Collegues, for further continu-  
ance of their offices. This difference proroged the elections  
for a whole yeare.

This *Isterim* set *Aulus* (who as before wee tolde you,  
was left Lieutenant in *Affrique*) on a fire, eyther to finish  
the Warre, or by the terrour of his Army, to extort some  
Masses of Money from *Iugurth*. And therefore in *Iannua-  
ry* he bringeth his Souldiers out of their winter Garisons  
into the field, and by great iournies in euery sharp season,  
he presenteth his forces before *Suthul*, the place where  
*Iugurth* had bestowed his Treasure. Which, although in  
regard of the season, & the strong situation of the place,  
it should neither bee forced nor besieged, (for a slimy  
plaine, now become by the Winter Waters, a meere ma-  
rsh, incirled the Wall built vpon the utmost clife of a rag-  
ged Rocks) yet for countenance sake, eyther to astonish  
the

the k. or bewitched with blind hopes of gaining the town, without delay he omitted nothing to further his intention. *Iugurth* taking hold of the vanity and insufficiency of the man, cunningly to drawe him to further pointes of madnesse, sendeth out certaine Messengers to offer his submission, and withall at the same instant, faining feare and flight, leadeth his Army into woody & vnfrequented places. This offer of a conceited cōposition, so bewitched *Anulus*, that needes will hee leaue *Suthul*, and pursue his false-flying enemy into vnknowne Countries: vpon what reason, I cannot coniecture, vnlesse in such a place his ouersights might proue lesse subiect to disclosure. All the way of his march, *Iugurth* ceased not day nor night, by certaine crafty espyals to sound the souldiers: and to corrupt the Captaines and Centurions of bands, eyther to reuolt, or in the day of the fight, vpon a signall giuen, to forsake their stations.

4 Which, when hee had brought to passe according to desire, about midnight he incompasseth the campe of *Anulus* with his troopes of *Numidians*. The souldiers were amazed at this so unexpected an alarm: some betooke them to their weapons, some to hide their heades: Some encouraged the fearefull, others stood quiuering, as men at their wits ends, for that the enemy pressed hard vpon all places. The sky was ouercast with cloudes and darknesse, and the danger alike doubtful: finally, the hardest could not resolute; whether the safest course consisted in flight, or fight. Of those which were before corrupted, one Cohort of *Ligurians*, with two companies of *Thracians*, and a fewe common souldiers reuolted to the King. In like manner the *Centurion* primiple of the third Legion, gaue entrance to the enemy, by that quarter which was assigned him to defend: vpon that side all the *Numidians* thrust in. The flight on our parte was shamefull; some retired to the next hil without any weapons. Night and the rising of our Tents, gaue vs some aduantage to the preiudice of their victory: but the next day *Iugurth* calleth vnto *Albinus*; *Although* (saith hee) *I now beseech thee, distressed by warre and famine, with mine Army, yet being mindfull of humane casualties, I will capitulate with*

*Quia exercitus  
nesciret quid age-  
retur.*

*Quia nox erat, et  
silua vicina.*

*c. P' tunc pericu-  
losum erat nescien-  
tibus regionem.*

*Quia interea mul-  
ti saluti cōsultare.*

these, that (your liues saved) you shall all passe sub iugum, and within ten daies after, cleerly depart *Numidia*. These conditions, although they were hard and dishonorable, yet becaufe, deniall was death, the composition was accepted and ratified, according to the Kings pleasure.

*Quia p'ona capi-  
tuli digna, ut ipsa  
cecidit, quia Sami-  
ritibus sub iugum  
missi fuerat.*

*c. i. sub iugum trās-  
uersum inter duas  
hastias, ex illas, pa-  
tribulum represen-  
tans.*

## CHAP. II.

1 The Romans re-enforce their Armie. 2. The Tribune preferreth a bill against bribery.



1 Soone as the newes arrived at *Rome*, feare and sadnesse possessed the City. Some were pensue for the honour of the Empire; Others not accustomed to heare of the variable cūents of warre, mistrusted no lesse the losse of their liberty. All were offended at *Anulus*, and specially those, that hadde bene brought vp in seruice, for that he preferred a dishonourable composition, before a valourous aduenture of his life. Which the Consull *Albinus* well obseruing, and fearing that his brothers misaduenture would proue his disgrace and procure him enuy, propounded the question in Senate, concerning the validity of the Treaty; mean while, not foreslowing to leuy new supplies, and to pray in ayd the *Italians* and their associates. In this they vsed all possible celerity.

The Lords (it was but reason) decreed, that no treaty could be ratified without the approbation of the Senate and the people.

The Consul being forbidden by the *Tribunes* to transport these supplies, within a few daies after ariueth in *Africke*: For the relicks of the Army, according to the articles, being retired out of *Numidia*, did nowe winter in the Prouince.

Vpon his first arriuall, although his mind were good, both to prosecute *Iugurth*, as also to redeeme his brothers dif-

*Quia Adherbal  
premonuerat, quod  
Iugurtha alius  
animus inderet.*

s. fratris.  
Deteriores summe  
omnes licentia.

vpon his first arrual, although his mind were good, both to prosecute *Jugurth*, as also to redeeme his Brothers disgrace by reuenge, yet vpon notice that the souldiers, besides their reuolt, were corrupted by loose gouernment, and licenciousnesse, arising from superfluity, he changed his mind, and resolved to do no more for that yeare.

2 Mean time at *Rome*, *C. Manlius Limetanius*, Tribune of the people, preferred a bil for inquisition against those, by whose countenance *Jugurth* presumed to contemne the Decrees of the Senate: who they were that redeliuered the Elephants and fugitiues: and likewise who they were, that either in their Ambassages, Messages, or Generalships had bene corrupted by bribery: or lastly had without warrant capitulated with the enemy, of peace or warre. To this bill, some for that in their consciences they knew themselves guilty, and others in regarde of the generall enuy, mildoubting danger, for that with safety they could not make open resistance, made answer, that both this bill, and all others of like nature pleased them. But vnder hand by their friendes, especially the *Latines* and the *Italians*, they procured meanes of euasion. But with what obstinacy the Commons perseuered, and in what riotous manner they commanded the Inquisition, more in hate of the Gentry (against whome these malicious teuerities were pretended) then in true zeale to the common cause it is a thing incredible to relate. Such, and so violent was the perversnesse of both parties. Whereupon euery man being daunted, *Marcus Scaurus* the fore-recited procurator of *Beitia*, betwene the insultings of the people, and the fighes of the Gentry (the City also quaking for fear) amongst the three informers, petitioned by the bill of *Manlius*, procured himselfe to bee the third in Commis- sion.

Howsoeuer, the Inquisition was so bitterly and violently vrged by the clamors & licentiousnesse of the people at this assembly, that looke what insolency the Nobility in former times in their potencies, exercised vpon the people; the people at this time were nothing behind in requitall of the like outrage towards the Gentry.

CHAP. 12.

Quod aut alia ne-  
gotia interroga-  
bant: aut ad ple-  
bem & tribunos  
plebis instabant, ne  
in tanta Commoti-  
one, talis rogatio  
promulgaretur.

CHAP. 12.

A digression of the Author vpon the cause of the corruption and declination of the Roman Empire.



His bandying of parties by the people, and the partiality of the Gentry, with the accustomed assiduity of corrupt passages, tooke their first originall in *Rome* not many yeares since, from the dilute of warre, and enioyment of those vanities (wealth and idleness) which all mortall men do most seeke after. For before the razing of *Carthage*, the Senate and Roman people ruled the state with indifferencie, in quiet and mutuall modesty: contentions of Superiority and greatness were not heard of amongst fellow-Citizens: forrayne feares retained the city within bounds of mediocrity.

As feare vanished, to those vanities (which accompany prosperity) wantonnesse and pride approached: Inso much that in aduerser times, the fruition of peace and idleness was most bitter and burdensom to them. For the Nobility conuerted the institution of their superiority into arrogancy, and the Cominalty, their priuiledges into libertie. Each party made shift for themselves, to vllurpe, to raine, to bandy. There were but two factions; the Commonwealth, which consisted in *medio*, was wronged on both sides: whereof the Nobility interested by faction, preuailed most, the strength of the Commons disioynted & dispersed in multitudes, could do little.

The people were kept low by pouerty and imployments in seruice: The spoiles of warre the Generals shared vnto themselves and their fauourites, whilst in the meane time the parents and infants of the souldiers, were disseized of their inheritances, as they hapned to lie adioyning neere the confines of some great personage. Thus auarice incorporated with Greatnes, laide claime, & made prize of all things without meane in al places, vntil it ran headlong into desperate ruine. For after, Some of the Nobility

Gg

lity

Seruabat cassis  
humilis fortuna  
Latinas  
Quondam, nec vi-  
tis contingi parua  
suebat  
Tectis labor, som-  
nique breues.

lity were found to affect true glory before vsurped power, the City began to be disquieted, and ciuill dissention as dust carried with a whirlwind, invaded mens fancies. *Tiberius* and *C. Gracchus* (whose Ancestors had done many good seruices to the state, both in the *Punique*, and other wars) were the first, that endeouored to restore the people to liberty, & to cal the offences of some few into question. The Nobility being guilty, & therefore fearful, sometimes found meânes to frustrate the deuiles of the *Tribunes* by their associates, and the *Latines*, and sometimes by the *Roman* Knights, whom the hope of equality had exempted frō siding with the vulgar. First they slue *Tiberius*, & with in few yeares after *C. Gracchus*, with *M. Fuluius Flaccus*: the one colourably, for moouing sedition; the other, for producing the *Law of sending forth Colonies*. To speak vprightly, the *Gracchi* were too too violent in their desires of preuailing: for it is a wiser course, to yeeld in a good cause, rather then to wreck our iniuries in an euill measure. Vpon this victory, the Nobility according to their pleasures & particulars, either massacred or banished many mortal creatures, for future ages procuring vnto themselves, more fear then power. A proiect which hath ruined many great cities, wherein the one hath studied by all means to ouer-master the other, and after victory, to proceede with cruelty. Let this suffice for the partialities and state of the City, the multiplicity whereof, if I should adreſſe my selfe in particular to remember, time rather then Copy would faile my induours. Wherefore I will retire my pen to purpose.

b Quia ex popularibus nullus eis faueret.  
c Per fas et nefas.

## CHAP. 13.

1. Metellus is made Lord Generall of the Army in Affricke.
2. He reformeth the Army. The description of a worthy Generall.

**A**fter the composition of *Aulus*, and the soule discomfiture of our people, *Metellus*, and *M. Sillanus* Consuls elect, cast lots for the Provinces. *Numidia* fell to *Metellus*, a man of action; who although he tooke part against the proceedings of the people, yet neyther pattie could blemish his honour or good report.

At his first entry into Office, he set order in al businesses which concerned his colleague, as well as himselfe, and afterward wholly bent his minde to the disposing of the present warre.

Whereupon growing into despaire of the old Army, he presteth and inrolleth new souldiers, desireth aid on al hands, prepareth armour, weapons, horse, and all other warlike necessaries, with plentifull prouision of victuals and all things else, which he knew would bee otherwise wanting in a variable warre, subiect to the penury of accustomed supplies. To make vp which his proportions (by the good leaue of the Senate) the associates, the *Italians* and forraigne kinges, of their owne free wils, adioyned their aydes. So did euery City, euen to emulation.

So hauing all things in a readinesse, and prepared to his owne content, he departeth towards *Numidia*, with the generall applause of the City, partly moued therevnto by hopes of his good carriage and honourable disposition; partly for his inuincible neglect of extorsiuue riches; but most of all, for that, by the Auarice of our former Gouernors, our forces had bin broken and dishartned, and the enemies encreased and encouraged in *Numidia*.

At his artinal in *Affricke* *Sp. Albinus* the Pronconsull resigneth the Army, but vndisciplind, out of heart, neyther endurable of daunger nor labor: braue in tongue, slow in action: Driuing preyes out of their friends countries, it selfe, a prey to the spoiling enemy: vtterly destitute of obedience and modest carriage: So farre out of Order, that the new *Generall* became more penſiue to reclaime them from this inured absurdities, then any way hopefull either to receiue assistance or good seruice by their tumultuary multitudes.

Notwithstanding, although the delays of the <sup>a</sup> Summer Elections had deceiued his intentions, and although he knew that the peoples ears itched with expectation of good newes, yet stood he resolued not to begin the war, before he had trained his souldiers to their ancient discipline.

<sup>a</sup> Per disensionem impedita.

For *Albinus* being terrified at the disastrous overthrow of his Brother and the Army, during so much of the Summer season as hee spent in the Prouince, had set vp his rest, not to dislodge; but billeted his soldiers in (as it were) standing camps without any remooue, vntill stinch, or want of forrage inforced him thereto. And then neither, according vnto military discipline, hee set forth Sentinels, but suffered euery man to forsake his Ensigne at his owne pleasure: Watercarriers base groomes were loosely permitted to accompany the hordemen awei by day as by night without conduct accustomed to forrage the Countries, to pillage the Villages, to drue Troopes of Prisoners, and herds of Cattle; and then to barter them with Marchants foraine for Vines, & such like trifles.

Lastly, they were not ashamed to sell their publick allowance, and yet to buy euery daies bread: whatsoeuer disgraces, the scandals of Sloth and Rvot could either impute, or possibly deuise against profession of souldiery, all these, and more were really to be found in this our Armie.

Admitt all these difficulties, I find *Metellus* to be a man no lesse sufficient, then wise and politticke in warlike accidents; iudicially was his desire of reformation mixed with severity.

2 By his first proclamation he prohibited all motiues to idleness (viz:) That no man in the campe should bring bread to sell, or flesh ready to dden: that no groom should follow the Army, neither, that the common souldier should haue a slaue or a Beast in campe or in march. To what remained, by discretion he limited measure. This done, by interchangeable dislodgings hee made daily remoues, and intrenched his campe with a *Pallisado* and a ditch, nethl: hee he releeued the watch continually; and himselfe with the Officers would goe the round. In his marches he would sometimes shew himselfe in the heade of his battallions, sometime in the Arereward, but ofner in the midst.

He would suffer no man to straggle out of order: The En-

Ensignes, he would be sure, should be strongly accompanied. The souldier must carry both his Armes and pro- uant. Thus rather by prohibiting & forwarning of Offences, then by exemplary punishment, in short time he brought his Souldiers to perfect discipline.

## C H A P. 14.

*Metellus reiecteth the messengers of Iugurth. 2. The stratagems of a slie Enemy Metellus taketh in Vacca.*

I.



*Iugurth* by his espials coming to notice of *Metellus* his courses, as also vnderstanding what was the repete of his integrity at *Rome*; began to take his owne weakenesse into distrust, & in truth now labored a small composition:

Which to mediate, hee sent certaine Messengers vnto the Consul with these Ouer- tures; That hee would simply yeelde, with reseruati- on of his owne and his Childrens liues: what euer he held deere in the world besides, he would frankly referre it to the good pleasures of the Roman people.

But experience had taught the Roman General, that the *Numidians* were a perfidious Nation, of a variable disposition, and euermore enclined to Nouelty. And therefore hee foundeth euery one of the Messengers apart, and vppon good coniectures, finding naught but plaine dealing, he maketh the great promises to betray *Iugurth* aliue or dead, but especially aliue (if possibly they could) into his hands: with the remainder of his determinations, concerning the Kings message, he acquainteth them in open audience.

Vpon these teames he, beginneth his first march into the enemies Country with his army alwey prepared to charge as soon as he should be charging enmy.

2 Hebre; contrary to the face of warre, the cottages

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were

were replenished with people, the fieldes with Cattle & husbandmen: The Kings officers of the Townes and villages, in honourable semblance welcommed the Consull, offered to giue him corne, and to furnish him with carriages: yea, and with good will to accomplish whatsoeuer was giuen them in command. For al these faire shewes, *Metellus* was nothing the more carelesse; hee marched in such order, as if the enemy had bene at hand; he sent out his vaunt-currers on euery side, far & wide, all the messages of surrendry he tooke for mockage, and vsed them but as stratagems of pollicy to the plotting of mischief.

And therefore he himselfe marched in the voward with the readiest Cohort, accompanied with a choice band of Slings and Archers: *C. Marius* his Lieutenant ledde the Rereward with the horsimen. Vpon both sides he equally denided the Auxiliary horse, vnder the conduct of the *Tribunes* of the Legions, and the captains of the Cohorts; that beeing intermingled with the light harnesssed foote-men, they might be ready at all assaies to repulse the enemies Chualry. For *Iugurth* was so subtle, and so wel acquainted with the Scituation of places, and the Art of soldiery, that it was hard to resolute, whether he were more to be doubted absent or present, intreating of peace, or menacing of warre.

3 Not farre out of the way by which *Metellus* should march, lay *Vacca*, the principal and best frequented Mart-towne of the *Numidian* kingdome, and the staple of the *Italian* Nation. Hereinto the Consull made prooffe either to put a garison, or vpon denial to force the place, if opportunity seemed to aduise him thereto. And therefore he commanded the inhabitants to provide him corne, and other such necessaries, which the wantes of war required: supposing (as experience made prooffe) that the credite of the *Mart*chants, and the place fit for the stowage of his provision, would become very aduantagious to his future preparations. Amidst these deuises, *Iugurth* by submis-  
sive messengers, and with far more earnestnesse then before, beseecheth peace, offering vnto *Metellus* an absolute surrendry of al, except his owne life, and his childrens.

These

These as the former, the Consull motueth, & dismisseth to betray their master, and neither granteth, nor denieth the petitioned Articles: holding the King in suspence by delayes, in expectation of the yssue of the Messengers promises.

*Iugurth* comparing the deeds of *Metellus* with the reports of his Messengers, found himselfe now ouerreached in his owne deuises; that peace in words were pretended, but in effect the Warre was most rigorously prosecuted: A good Towne was alienated; the Country discovered: and the good wils of the people anticipated. Vpon the necessitous considerations whereof hee was constrained to betake himselfe to the resolute of Warre.

### CHAP. 15.

*Iugurth* resolueth for warre: The description of an excellent fought battell.



Then by espyals discovering what waies his enemies tooke, of all sorts of people he leuyeth as great forces, as possibly hee could, in good hope to do good by the opportunity of the place: and so by wayes and yknowne passages hee ouertaketh the Army of *Metellus*. In that part of *Numidia*, which vpon the diuision fell vnto the share of *Adherbal*, southwarde riseth the Riuer *Muthul*. From thence, a famous Mountaine almost one thousand and twenty paces distant of equall extension shewed it selfe. It was by Nature barren, vnmanured, and dispeopled: but from the midst arose an exceeding high Hillocke, beset with Oliues, Mirrils, and such like diuersity of such trees, as are accustomed to grow in drie and sandy Countries. The midst of the adioyning plaine for want of water lay desert: the remnant, as much as lay neere the Riuer, beset with bushes and shrubs, was frequented by men & Cattle: vpon this hill, thus diuersly scituated in the midst thereof,

as *Aptus* insidit.



thereof *Jugurth* sheweth his Army thinly manshalled, and maketh *Bomilchar* Governour ouer this remainder of his footmen and the Elephants: and so leaueth him with instructions how to dispose of his people.

a Sub fur cam ab  
hactis, ad summū  
ignominiam, re  
cite.

Himselfe with the whole body of his Chivalry and his choicest footmen approacheth neare vnto the mountain. And then turning to his people, he goeth from one company to another, *Generally admonishing & intreating them to beare in memory their ancient prowesse, and by being victors free their kingdome from the Auarice of the Romaines.* Then he put them in mind, *how they were but to deal with those fellows, whom heeretofore they had routed, and enforced to passe sub iugum.* That they had but onely made change of their Captaine, not of their Cowardice: That, as their General, he had had an eye and care vpon all accidents, as became him; That he had taken the aduantage of the higher ground. That he had intermingled the trained men with raw novices so that they neede not to be affraide, that few should bee over-matched with many, neither that vndisciplined Souldiers should cope with their betters, and therefore they should stand resolute and intentiue to charge their enemies, as soone as the signal were sounded. This day (quoth he) you shal either put end to your traiailes by victory, or for euer heereafter begin the Tragedy of your miseries.

Lastly, he adresteth his speech to those, whom either he had aduanced by reward or Office vnto military honours, and praieth them, man by man to bee mindful of his fauours, and they to say the like vnto their followers. From words he applyeth to diuersity of humors: some hee promiseth, some he threatneth, others hee emboldneth, and generally encourageth all sorts by one meanes or other.

All this while *Metellus* marching downe the hill, and ignorant of this the enemies approach, was with his army fully discouered to *Jugurth*. At first the vnsuall apparition begat doubt, what the matter should signifie: for the *Numidians* and the horse were couched amongst the bushes, yet not fully hidde by the lownesse of the bowes. Notwithstanding the truce continued a while vncertain, both by the Nature of the place, and the enemies cunning

ning, for they hadde obscured all their military ensignes: But at length vpon further discouery, the Ambush was discerned, and the battaile ordered.

The Battallion which by his first direction marched intire vpon the right hand, being now neereft aduanced towards the enemy, he changeth, and diuideth it into three partes, in reliefe each of other. Betweene euery band hee placeth his Archers and Slings, and rangeth his Cavalrie vpon the head of the battaile. Then for shortnes of time, not permitted to vse many wordes of incouragement, he bringeth his Army into the plaine without alteration of order, saue that in the first ranks the souldiers turned their faces. At his approach, when he perceiueth that the *Numidians* lay quiet and stirred not from the hill, he dispatched Colonell *Rutilius* with the readiest Footemen, and some horse towards the Riuer, to preuent the enemies commodious encamping; vpon coniecture, that by light skirmishes and often alarms, *Jugurth* would do his worst to stay their dislodge; but if he found no profe by force, then he would try to weary the souldier by heare and thrust. After *Rutilius* followed the General, slowly descending the hill, as the nature of the place would giue leaue. *Marius* guided the rereward, himselfe marched with the horsemen of the left wing; those in the battaile made the vant-guard.

Nam à latere  
erant à dextra.

Ed quod à dextro  
latere erant hostes

*Jugurth* obseruing that the tayle of the enemies Army had passed his formost ranks, maketh hast to take that part of the hill from whence *Metellus* had descended, with a troope of some two thousand footemen, fearing least the departed enemy would thither returne againe for refuge, and fortifie. This done, he suddenly giueth the signall to charge. Some of the *Numidians* beginne with the hindermost, and cut them in peeces, whilst others of their companions charge in in flank, sometime vpon the left side, & sometime vpon the right. They shew themselves euery where with their menacing weapons: They presse hard in, and in all places make triall to disorder the *Roman* ranks.

Those of best courage, who not able to indure these *Brandoes*, offered to answer the insulting *Numidian*, werecluded by the vncertain fight of the enemy. For they were

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wounded

wounded a farre off, and found no meanes of reuenge by striking or aduancing to ioyne. For the horlemen were instructed before by *Jugurth*, that when any troopes of *Romans* pursued them in flight, they shold not retire in thick cōpanies, or in one intire body, but that one troop should fly this way, another that, & far aslunder: that so finding themselves superiour in number, they might attach either vpon their sides, or at their backes, some seperated or dismounted companions, in case they were not able to make their party good with the whole troop. But if they found that the h<sup>is</sup> was more aduantageous for their retraite then the plaines, to those places the *Numidian* horses were also accustomed, to make quicke way through the bushes. But these thickets and rough passages prohibited the pursute of the *Romans*.

The whole businesse seemed long doubtfull, variable, bloody, and lamentable: some fled, others pursued, neyther the Ensignes were followed, nor order kept: euery man, as daunger attached him, there receiued the charge and made his best resistance. Corsetts, Weapons, Horses, Men, Friends and Enemies lay intermingled in one anothers gore: in the medly, counsell and command were of no vse: fortune gouerned all.

By this time a great part of the day was spent, and yet the victory vncertaine: All sortes languished with labour and heat. But *Metellus* perceiuing that the *Numidians* began somewhat to faint, by some and some he gathered his scattered Troopes into one Battallion: hee relyeth the rankes, and faceth the aduerse foemen with foure Legionary cohorts. These, *Metellus* finding after their toyle some labour breathing themselves in the higher grounds, Generally beseecheth and intreateth not to forsake their fellow Souldiers, neyther to suffer their enemies, already as good as defeated, to wrest the victory out of their possessions: hee telleth them, that they haue neither Campe nor fortified place to retire vnto. The safety of their lines consisted onely in their Swords.

Neither all this while was *Jugurth* ydle: he visited euery place, he entreated, he re-enforced: yea, euen himselfe with

with certaine choise companions prooued an onset vpon euery quarter. He releued the wearied, he charged the wauering, & fighting a far off, in proper person he repulsed the bands which fought most couragious. Thus these two excellent *Generals* behaued themselves: in sufficiencies equal, in forces vnequal. In souldiery *Metellus* had the aduantage, the place was discōmodious. except in goodness of souldiery, *Jugurth* had the better in all points. But the *Romans* vnderstanding that they had neither place of refuge, neither that the enemy would bee brought at any hand to fight in grosse, for that it now grew late, according to the *generals*, behest seized vpon the hil where the enemy fought. The *Numidians* hauing lost their footing, disbanded, & fled, few perished: a swift paire of heels, & a country vnkowne to the *Romans*, saved many mans carkasse. During the time of this medly, *Bomilchar* who as we told you before, was by *Jugurth* made Gouvernour of the Elephants & certain foot companies, as soone as he perceiued that *Rutilius* was past him, by little & little aduanceth his souldiers into the plain. And as the *Colonell* without noise (as was requisite) hastneth toward the riuer, whereunto by command he was formerly dispatched, *Bomilcar* ordereth his battel, without sending forth of any espials to discouer how the enemy proceeded in either of both places. But as soone as he had intelligence, that *Rutilius* was arrived, & without feare incamped, as also he heard the reports of the cries from the campe of *Jugurth* (as a signa l that the battell was begun, vpon mistrust left the *Colonell*, being likewise aduertised of the cause, & manner) should arise, and so succour his distressed companions; the battallion (which vpon distrust of their valor, he had first cloid, ranged by Art, he now extendeth in breadth, the readier to giue stoppage to the enemies iourney. Thus marcheth *Bomilchar* towards the camp of *Rutilius*. Vpon a sodaine the *Romans* perceiue a huge rising of dust: the Country thick of bushes, hindered their perfect discouery. At first, they supposed it to be the sand raised by winde, but after they saw continuance, and that as the army came forward, the nearer the smoke approached, vpon true knowledge of the

cause, they betake them to their weapons, and according to commandement, they stand armed before the gates of their campe. By this time they attached one another, and both parties eagerly ioyne with vsuall clamours. The *Numidians* stood fast as long as they saw hope in their Elephants, but as soone as they perceiued, that they could not performe their Offices, for the thicknesse of the branches of Trees, but were ouerthrowne and incompassed, they betooke them to flight, and casting away their Armes, what by the nearenesse of the hill, and what by the darkenesse of the night (now at hand) many cleaped in safety: Foure Elephants were taken, the residue in number forty were all slaine.

This businesse thus dispatched, the Souldiers though weary and faint with their journey, with inclosing of the Campe, and the late fight, yet, for that *Metellus* delayed his coming beyond opinion, in the same order & equippage, where with they lately fought, they march out to meet him. For the subtil aproch of the *Numidians* would neither suffer remission, nor giue leisure to trifle.

At their first approach about midnight, by the noyse which they made, being taken for enemies, some began to feare, others to cry to Armes: and surely a great mischance had happened by improuidence, if the horsemen, sent out on both sides, had not discovered the error. Now in stead of feare, the ioy is generall. The souldiers merrily call one to another, they tell and are told of their aduentures: each party praiseth his own valour to the heauens. So, so stand mortall affaires: *In prosperity the coward sheweth of glory: in aduersity the best onely vndergoe the scandall.*

*Metellus* stayeth foure dayes in this place to cure the wounded. According to warlike discipline he rewarded those that had well deserued in the battaile. In an Oration hee praiseth euery mans action, and giueth thanks: He exhorteth them to retaine the like courage against future brunts, which will proue more easie. For by this victory hazard is ended; the remainder is but matter of prey. Then he dispatcheth fugitiues and fit spies into the ene-

mies

emies Countrey, to learne what course *Iugurth* tooke: whether he conuerted with a few, or retained the face of an Army, and howe hee carried himselfe now after the losse of this victory.

But *Iugurth* had retired himselfe into Wooddy and strong scituated places: and there had leuied an Army, in number farre exceeding the first, but base and cowardly, fitter for the plough then the field.

This so fell out vpon occasion, that no man of the *Numidian* Nation followed the King in his flight, saue onely his owne Horse-men. In such cases euery one retir-eth, whither himselfe pleaseth. Neyther is it accounted any Souldierlike disgrace, for that it is and hath beene the custome of the Countrey.

Vpon which aduertisements *Metellus* perceiuing that the Kings courage nothing relented, and that if the warre were renewed, it stood in *Iugurths* pleasure, how it should be managed.

Moreover, that hee was to fight against an vnequall enemy, to whom it was lesse losse to be ouerthrowne, then to Conquer: determined to make no more experimentes by fights and raunged battailions, but to carry the War in another fashion:

Accordingly, he marcheth vnto the wealtheft places of *Numidia*, he wasteth the Countrey, and forceth and flieth many Castles and Townes, some without Garrison, some stuffed with Souldiers pressed hand ouer-head: Hee sleiyeth the youth, and giueth all in prey to the Souldiers mercy. The people being terrified with these extremities yeilded, gaue pledges, and in plentifull manner supplied Corne, & all other necessities. Wherefoeuer a Garrison was thought needfull, there one was thrust in.

These passages danted the King more then an unfortunate battell. For, whereas before, flight was his safety, now was he constrained to follow. And hee that of late could not make good the place for fight of his owne chusing, is now compelled to defend himselfe at perill in another mans Countrey.

Notwithstanding, hee taketh counsell from Necessity

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his

*Numicum deuantem.*

his best Counsellour: he commaundeth his people to stay his returne in the foresaide places: himselfe vndiscerned with some chosen Horsmen, by bywaie and nightly iournies followeth *Metellus*; at a sudden he assaulteth the *Roman* forragers: slayeth some vnarmed: taketh many prisoners, and not one returneth vnwounded. This doone, before reliefe could be ministred, as they had in comānd, they retired into the fastnesse of the adioyning Mountaines.

## C H A P. 14.

1. The ioy of the Cittie for the good newes of Affrique. 2. The vnquiet spirit of Iugurth.



Great was the ioy in *Rome*, first for the good fortune of *Metellus*: secondly, for that hee had reduced the army to its ancient discipline. That notwithstanding the disadvantage of place, he had nethlesse ouerthrowne the enemy by pure valour: that he kept the field, and lastly, that *Iugurth* late grown insolent by the Cowardice of *Aulus*, was now constrained to protect his life by flight, and in deserts.

Heereupon the Senate decreeth an humble thanksgiving to the immortall Gods for these prosperous successes. The Cittie which before stood quaking & pensue in euent of the warre, now maketh festiual, and extolleth *Metellus* to the skies.

*Metellus* againe with greater intension laboureth an absolute victory: he maketh hast on al hands, & taketh care not to be taken tardy in any place. He calet to mind that *Eunie* is the companion of *Glorie*: & therefore by how much the more his reputation was augmented, by so much the more were his cares encreased: the reason, wherefore after the ambushes of *Iugurth*, he would not suffer the Army to forrage at Liberty. When the Cohorts wanted

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Corne or stouer, he stood Sentinell with all the Horle: Himselfe ledde the Army, *Marius* the residue. The countrey now suffred more wast by fire, then by diuining of preyes. They pitched their campe in two places, not farre assunder: if assistance were needfull, all were readie; but when they meant to spread the terror of their Armes, by procuring of flight or feare, they made their remoues of greater distance.

All this while, *Iugurth* followeth by the Mountaines: warcheth for times and places of aduantage, and where vpon likelyhood he thinketh that the enemy will resort, he destroyeth the toirage, and impoysoneth those fewe waters, which nature had bestowed vpon those sandy places. Sometime he sheweth himselfe to *Metellus*, sometime to *Marius*, sometime he maketh a *Brauado* to charge in troope, and forthwith retireth againe into the Mountaine. He commeth out againe, and now threatnerth one, then another: he neither extendeth battel, nor can away with rest, his onely proiect was to hinder his enemies desseignes.

## C H A P. 17.

1. *Metellus* besiegeth *Zama*. 2. *Iugurth* almost recovered *Sicca*. 3. Repulsed by *Marius*. 4. Distresseth the Roman campe. 5. Relieued by *Marius*.



He *Romaine* Generall perceiuing that neither by policy hee could weary his enemy, neither by injuries prouoke him to fight; vndertaketh to besiege a great City, beeing the chiefe fortresse of defence in that part of the kingdom called *Zama*: supposing (for the weight of the businesse) that *Iugurth* would not forsow to releue his distressed Subiects: and there he meant to fight with him.

But *Iugurth* by certaine fugitiues hauing learned the intent of the *Consull*, by great iournies preuenteth him: he

He encourageth the inhabitants to defend their walles valiantly, and giueth them these fugitives in assistance. Of his whole army he accounted these the strongest party, for that he was sure they could not deceiue him. Moreover, he promiseth to relieue them in person in conuenient time. And so hauing composed the businesse he came for, he retireth againe vnto his desert abode: where hee had made no long tariance, but he getteth vnderstanding, that *Marius* was vpon his iourney, commanded *Sicca* to provide what with a few Cohorts. This City was the first that forsooke the king after his ouerthrow.

2 Hether he commeth by night with his choice horsemen: he chargeth the *Romans* in their very entring out of the gates; and at the same instant, encourageth the *Sicenses* to assault the cohorts on their backs. Hee cryeth out, that now fortune hath offered them a notable occasion by some famous deede to blot out their former defection, which if they would performe, that he should bee able to spend the remainder of his life in the kingdome, and they in liberty, without feare and danger. 3 Surely, if *Marius* had not brought on the ensignes, and made way through the midst of his enemies, without doubt all, or the greatest part of the *Sicenses*, had changed their allegiance: so mutable is the faith of a *Numidian*.

The *Jugurthines* being a while sustained by the King, when they saw, that neuertheles their enemies with more eager courage pressed vpon them, with the losse of some few, provide for flight. *Marius* commeth safe to *Zama*.

The Towne was situated in a plaine, stronger fortified by mans industry then Art, in want of no necessary provision, but full stored both with men and armour. According to time and place *Metellus* hauing all things in readinesse, environeth the walles with his Army: he commandeth the Colonels euery man to take care of his charge, and vpon a signe giuen, a great and generall clamour is raised. This nothing terrifieth the *Numidians*, they stand fast and prepared without tumult. The assault is begun: The *Romans* do the utmost of their endeavors: Some a far off fight with stones and missile engines, some inuade and

lap

lap the wall. Some set vp scaling Ladders, and desire to bring the fight to handy-strokes.

On the contrary the Townsmen tumble down Massy stones, sharp piles and long darts, with flaming firebrands besmared with pitch and sulphure vpon those that stand nearest: such was their violence, that those which stood farthest off had not the best courages; for these darts discharged from Engines, or shot from hand, had wounded many. The valiant and cowardes were in like danger, but not in like repute. 4. The game going thus at *Zama*, behold on a sodaine *Jugurth* assaulteth the *Roman* campe with a strong company. They that had the custody thereof lay carelesse, expecting nothing lesse then battell. *Jugurth* entreteth: and our people standing amased at the suddenness of the euent, for fashion sake, aske counsell one of another what is to be done. Some fly, some betake them to armes, the greatest part are either slaine or wounded: of the whole rable not aboue forty being mindfull of the *Roman* name, casting themselves in a ring, recovered a place somewhat higher then their enemies, and could not by much ado be driuen to forsake their standing. They that was sent them, they resēt againe: being but few, the seldomer their weapons fell frustrate amongst many.

If the *Numidians* drew nigh, then they made proofes of their valour, by slaughter, ouerthrowes and repulses.

*Metellus* in the hottest of his businesse, heareth a clamour at his backe: whereuppon turning his horse, hee perceiued that the flight maketh towards him: a token, that they were of his friends. In all hast he commaundeth the horse to make towards the campe, and forthwith dispatcheth *C. Marius* with the cohorts of the associates, beseeching him with teares in his eyes, that hee would not suffer any disgrace now to attaine the victorious Armie; neither that he would suffer the enemy to escape without reuenge. *Marius* executeth his generals commaund with speed. *Jugurth* being somewhat hindered by the fortification of the camp, with the losse of many of his followers, escaped into his solitary strong places. Some of his people leaped headlong ouer the trenches; others in streit places

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making more hast, then good speed, were actors of their owne ruines.

*Metellus* leauing the Towne vntaken, assoon as night approached, returned with the Army into the camp. The next day before his going to the siege, he commaundeth the whole Cautlry to watch and ward before the gates of the Camp vpon that side, whereon the enemies approch was feared. The gates, and adioyning Bulwarks he quartered to the *Tribunes*; and then comming before the Towne, as the day before, he attempteth the wall.

*Jugurth* againe vndiscovered, and on the suddaine invaderth our people: they that stood nearest were somewhat daunted, the residue came quickly in to succors. Neither could the *Numidians* haue long held out, but that by the mixture of their footmen with their horse, they had giuen a great checke to the *Romans* at the first onset. By whose assistance, they vsed not now (as in accustomed fight of horse) first to charge, and then to retire, but in full carriere to affront any that came, so to intangle and disorder the Army. Thus with these ready and trained footmen, they had almost routed their enemies.

This very instant *Zama*, was strongly pressed: the *Colonels* and *Tribunes* discharged their duties most valiantly: other hopes they expected none, but such as their own prowesse could afford each other.

In like manner the Townesmen resisted as valiantly: they fought stoutly, and prepared for all euent.

One party was more violent to wound another, then careful to defend their owne bodies. The cry was mixt with contrary encouragements, with contrary, ioyes and contrary sorrowes. The noise of Weapons ascended the Aire; and no spare of shot was made on either side. Those vpon the wals, assoon as the heat of the fight a litle slaked took leasure to behold the horse fight of *Jugurth*: As the *Jugurthines* either prospered or had the worse, so might a man perceiue in their faces, courage or feares: and as they could either be seen or heard by their fellowes, some they taught, some they encouraged, made signes with their hands, and like moueable gestures with their bodies

as

as men are constrained to doe in auoiding, or weilding their missile weapons.

Which being made knowne to *Marius*, (for vpon that quarter lay his charge) he began of purpote to slaken the assault, and to dissemble a distrust of preuailling, permitting the *Numidians* at pleasure to behold the Kings encounter.

Whilst the *Zamenfes* stood thus earnestly gazing vpon their fellowes, vpon the suddaine *Marius* attempteth the wall with great violence: the souldiers by *Scalado* had almost gained the curtaine. The Townesmen run to defence: stones, fireworkes, and shot, fly thicke and threefold. The *Romans* at first receiued them valiantly; but after that one or two ladders were broken & ouerthrown, those that stood vpon them were pittifully brused. The residue as well as they could retired, some found, the greater part wounded. And thus night parted the fray.

### CHAP. 18.

1 *Metellus riseth from Zama. 2 Wintereth his army. 3 turneth force into pollicy. 4 Jugurth yeeldeth, flyeth off againe.*



*Metellus* perceiued that hee spent time and men to no purpose, that the Town was impregnable, that *Jugurth* could not bee forced to fight but by ambuscies, & in places of his owne choise, and lastly, that Summer was spent, he arose from *Zama*, and into those towns which had revolted from *Jugurth*

(being by nature or art any way fortified) he thrust in sufficient garrisons.

2 The residue of his Troops he led into the prouince, there to spend the Winter in garrison. Being there, as others had done, he suffered them not to spend their times in sloth and laziness: but sithence he could not preuaile by force, he worketh the Kings frends by policy, and pre-

pateth to make vse of theyr trayterous mindes in stead of fight.

3 Acquaintance is the Anule, on which this proiect must be hammered. *Bomilchar* the man. This was he, that had accompanied *Iugurth* to *Rome*, and after giuing in of sureries, had notwithstanding secretly made an escape in feare of proceſſe, for the death of *Massina*. Him hee meaneth to make prooue of by faire words and golden promiſes.

First he ſoundeth, and ſecretly offeeth a priuate conference, and then vpon oth, becometh to procure him pardon, and performance of all other promiſes from the Lords of the Senat, if he would undertake to deliuer him *Iugurth* aliue, or dead.

The *Numidian*, being partly of a perfidious disposition, and partly misdoubling, that if the *Romans* and his Lord *Iugurth* fell into tearmes of peace, himſelfe by the Articles of agreement, might happen to bee demanded, and deliuered to puniſhment, was quickly perſwaded.

Vpon the first occasion, *Bomilchar* finding *Iugurth* troubled and perplexed for his euill fortune, cometh vnto him, and with teares in his eyes, mouth and beſeecheth him, that he would now at length looke vpon the compassionate eſtate of himſelfe, his Children, and the whole Kingdome of *Numidia*, which had ſo well deſerued at his hands. He ſayeth not to put him in mind, that in al fights they had carryed away the worſt, that the Countrey lay waſted, that much people were either ſlaine, or carryed away Priſoners: that the wealth of the Kingdome was exhausted. *By this time* (ſayth hee) *you haue made tryall inough what your Souldiers can doe, what your fortunes can promise: I could wiſh you to aduiſe, leſt your hopes vpon a-layes ſayle you not, the Numidians take ſome courſe to provide for themſelues.*

By theſe and like reaſons, he inſinuateth with the kings humours, to ſad to compoſition. Meſſengers are ſent to ſhewe the Generall, that *Iugurth* is ready to performe whatſoeuer is commanded. that without capitulation he will ſimply yeeld himſelfe and his kingdome to his diſcretion.

4 The

4 The Generall ſpeedily cauſeth all the Gentlemen of Senators ranke to bee ſent for out of their wintering places, with them others whom he thinketh meet, he goeth to counſell: according to ancient cuſtome by an order ſet downe by the Countell, *Iugurth* is commanded by Meſſengers, to bring in two hundred thouſand waight of ſiluer, all his Elephants, and a proportion of horſe and munition. Which beeing performed with expedition, the Conſull likewiſe commandeth the fugitiues to be brought bound before him. According to command the greater part are ſo preſented: vpon the first motion of the compoſition; ſome few departed into *Mauritania* toward king *Bocchus*.

5 Thus *Iugurth*, being bereaued of his Armes, men and money, is ſummoned to *Tifidum* to performe the Articles; when againe he beganne to repent him of his bargain, and by the ſting of his owne conſcience to growe ſuſpicious of deſerued puniſhment.

His doubts wore out many daies, ſomtime he recounted, that in the irkeſomneſſe of aduerſe fortune, all miſeries were lighter then the preſſures of warre, at another time, his mind was perplexed to thinke vpon the hard eſtate of thoſe, who from a kingdome, were deieſted to ſeruitude. At laſt, being not yet furniſhed with many and great meanes of aſſiſtants vncaſhied, he beginneth the warre afreſh.

At *Rome* the Lordes going to Counſell, concerning the prouinces, *Numidia* is againe decreed to *Metellus*.

#### CHAP. 17.

*Marius affecteth the Conſulſhip: his politicke proceeding.*



IN theſe times, by chance *C. Marius* offered Sacrifice to the gods at *Vtica*. The *Auſpex* declared that the ſignes portended great and wonderfull euent. Theſe the fauours of the Gods he laid vp in his minde, and other times making like triall of his fortunes, he



alwaies found the tokens answerable.

An immeasurable desire of attaining the Consulship, had long ago possessed the man : to the attaining whereof, besides the descent of his house, he had good gifts at will : Industrious, honest, a great souldier, high minded, Parsimonious in priuate, a contemner of wealth & pleasure in publicke ; onely greedy of glory.

Notwithstanding his birth, and his bringing vp at *Arpinas* in his Childhood (where he first learnt to vndergoe the labour of war) he spent his youth in seruice for wages, & not in learning the *Greek* toong, or City-complements. And thus by being conuerfant among virtuous exercises, his experience in short time grew vp to be absolute.

At his first standing for a military *Tribuneship* before the people, (when many knowing him not by face, at length knew his name) he easily caried it with the general suffrage of all the Tribes. By this step he ascended from one to another, so sufficiently managing his carriage in office, that he was by all men censured woorthy of a better, then the present he inioyed: yet durst not so woorthy a personage make sute for the Consulship before his time. Afterwarde his ambition was bounded by no limit.

Euen in these times the Nobility, conferred the Consulship either by partiality or succession : the Comminalty, all other inferior offices. No new man, how sufficient soeuer, nor any growne honorable by desert, were thought worthy of that honourable calling; yea the place was censured to be discredited, if any such person attained it. But after *Marius* grew confident, that the Southsaies prophecies concurred with the imagination of his thoughts, he desired dismissal of *Metellus*, with intentio to go for *Rome* there to make suite for the *Consular* dignity. The man although he were virtuous, honorable, & indowed with many excellent qualities yet were they accompanied with disdain and pride. Influences generall to all Nobility : who at first being mooued at the nouelty, tooke occasion to wonder at the enterprise, & by way of friendship to dissuade him not to begin to vnlawfull a suite, neither to rack his thoughts about his fortunes. All things wer not to be desired of all

*Quo, ab auspice  
ad altiora petenda  
animad uertetur*

*Quia non ex pa-  
tribus oritur.*

*s. Metellus.*

*Quia nouus homo,  
& municipalis.*

all men : and your place (quoth he) is a sufficient recompence for your deserts. Lastly, he withed him to bee well aduised, before he motioned a request of so high a nature before the *Roman* people, from whom by Law, nothing but a iust repulse was to be expected.

When these, nor many like speeches, could direct the mind of *Marius*, *Metellus* answered : that as soone as the common cause would admit permission, he would yeilde to his request.

Againe, being at sundry times after importunate to be gone, it is reported, that, he wished him not to make ouer much hast. For (quoth he) *there is no time past for you nor my Sonne to stand for the Consulship.* The Gentleman seruiced at the same time in his fathers Paulion, beeing about twenty yeares old.

This quip, partly in regard of the place affected, and partly for the deniall of departure, extreemly exasperated the minde of *Marius* against his *General*. Ambition and wrath (two the worst Counsellors) wholly possessed him, all his deeds and words now tended to popularity. The souldiers vnder his Regiment liued more loosely then accustomed : to the Marchantes of *Utica* he would sometimes scandall the warre, and sometime boast of himselfe; That, *if he were Gouvernour but of halfe such an Army, within few daies he would present Iugurth in chaines* : That, *the Generall prolonged the Warre of purpose* : That *the man was of no worth, but onely desirous too too long to retain the command of proud souerainty.* All which imputations seemed to them the more credible, for that by the continuance of warre their traffique was hindered. For to a mind set vp on couetousnesse nothing seemeth to be performed with sufficient dispatch.

Moreouer in our Army conuerfed one *Gauda a Numidian*, the sonne of *Manafabel*, and Nephew of *Masimissa*, a sickly man, and thereby somewhat crasic of mind, whom *Micipsa* had declared second heire of the kingdome. This man had requested of *Metellus*, first that he would giue him leaue according to the custome of Kinges, to set his chaire next to the Generals seat; secondly, that hee would pre-

appoint him a troope of *Roman* horsemen to guard his body. *Metellus* denied both: the Honor, for that it represented that maiestie, which the *Romans* termed, and hated, Kingly: and the Guard, for that it was disgracefull, to deliver a band of *Roman* horte for the safegard of a *Numidian*.

To this *Numidian* perplexed in mind, *Marius* addresth his speech; and aduiseh him to bee reuenged on the *Consul*, according to his instructions. He encourageth the man (weake God wot by sicknesse,) with pleasing courtshippe; calleth him King, Honorable, and the Nephew of *Masinissa*; and that shortly he should be inuested in the kingdome of *Numidia*, if *Jugurth* were once slaine or taken. Which should the sooner come to passe, if fortune so fauoured him, that he his friend, might once bee sent as *Consull* to manage the warre. By this Stratagem he worketh *Gauda*, the *Roman* horsemen, the soldiers, the marchants, and diuerse others gulled with shadowes of peace; to write their scandalous letters to their friends at *Rome*, against *Metellus*: many, with this conclusion, *That they should require Marius for General*. Thus was the *Consulshippe* labored in his behalfe, by the suffrage of many an honest and vpright man, yea (& as lucke serued that very season) the nobility being curbed by the law *Manlia*, new men were nominated by the *Pleibeians*. And so all things fell out happily for *Marius*.

*Admirationis re  
male gressu a nobi-  
libus.*

#### CHAP. 20.

*Jugurth falleth to his old practises, and recouereth Vacca, to the great confusion and disgrace of the Romans.*



After *Jugurth* had falsified his promise of personall submission, he openeth the war, he prepareth all necessities with admirable diligence, he slaketh no time, he traineth his soldiers, & foundeth the reuolted cities by bribes & menaces. Those which yet remained at his deuotion, he fortifieth and renueth or buyeth armours, weapons, and the like ammonitions,

as

as by the former treaty of peace he had diminished.

Hee allureth the *Romaine* slaues, and tempteth the *Garrisons* with ready money: Finally, hee leauieh no course vnthought on, nor vnproued. Nowe the *Vaccenses* (into whose citie *Metellus* vpon the first motion of the treaty, had thrust in a garison) being ouercom by the kings faire intreaties, and to speake truth, the better sort in mind neuer estranged from his seruice, began a conspiracie. As for the vulgar (a frequent accident, especially among the *Numidians*) being by nature of a variable disposition, seditious, quarrellsome, desirous of nouelties, and contemnners of peace and ciuility, they were soone drawne in for company. The match is made, & the third day following proclaimed the feastiuall throughout all *Affricke*. Vpon the day they present sports and daunces, without any appearance or imagination of feare, but watching their best opportunities, they inuite the *Centurions*, the *Tribunes*, and the *Gouernor* of the Towne *T. Turpilius Sillanus*, some to one house, some to another. In the midst of their merriment they murder them all, except *Turpilius*: this done, in a trice they set vpon the disarmed & stragling foldiers, obseruing then no military discipline because of the day. The common people, whereof some were made before hand by the Nobility, other some vpon a naturall inclination to inconstancies, seconded their leaders. To those that knew nothing of the plot and combination, noueltie and the tumult a foot gaue matter of consent & good liking. The *Romans* stood amazd at the sodennes of the vprore, & not knowing what course of safety to take, were in an extreame extalie. To fly vnto the town castle, where their colours & shields were remaining, was to run vpon their deaths; a garison of enemies already in possession, had shut the gates, & denied retrain. Boyes and women cast stones, & such like stuffe vpon their heads in abundance from the toppes of houses. No man could preuent these vncertaine blowes, no nor the valiantest foldier come to be reuenged on this weake and cowardly rable: so that good and euill, cowards & valiant souldiers in this medly died like deaths in great numbers. Of all the *Italians*, *Turpilius* the *Gouernour* escaped alone vntouched through all the barbarous *Numidians* and their closed gates. K k

Whether it so happened by the fauour of his hoast, by ranfome, or by chance, wee neuer could discover: onely thus much, a man may say; that *Turpilus* shewed himselfe a bafe and inconstant fellow, in preferring at such a pinch disgracefull life before a bed of fame.

## CHAP. 21.

1. *Vacca* recovered. 2. *Turpilus* beheaded.

*Ne signum virili  
animo indignum  
ostenderet.*

**M** *Etellus* beeing giuen to vnderstand of the regaining of *Vacca*, was somewhat moued at the accident, and retired out of sight. But vpon the digestion of wrath and grife, at last he hasteneth with extraordinary diligence to take reuenge vpon so disloyall a treason. By Sunne-set he taketh the fiede with the Legion, with which he wintered, and as many light Horle-men *Numidians*, as he possibly could rayse.

The next day, about the third howre, hee arriued in a certaine plaine, incircled about with indifferent heigh Banks. Here, to his Souldiers growne weary by their long march, and refusing to passe further, hee discovereth his intention: *That Vacca was not aboue a mile distant; That they were obliged in duety to vndergoe the remainder of the journey with patience, if it were but to inflit deserved punishment vpon Traytors, for the miserable death of such their loyall and valiant fellow-Cittizens.*

So by these speeches, as also by permission of prey, hauing regained their courages, in the fore-front he placeth his Horlemen, and commandeth his Foot-men to march close, without discovering their ensignes.

The people of *Vacca* obserued, that the company approached theyr Towne; at first (as indeede it was) suspected *Metellus*, and shut their Gates: But afterwards, for that they neither wasted; and those that came first to view were their Countrey-men, the *Numidians*, changing opi-

nion,

nion, they supposed it to bee *Iugurth*, and needs would issue to congratulate their friends and fellowes.

Vpon signal giuen, the horse-men and foot beate back the vulgar people towards the Citie: some seize vpon the gates, and some vpon the bulwarkes. Thus wrath & hope of spoile can make wearied bodies forget lazines.

The *Vaccenses* had only two dayes to reioyce for their Treason: The Citie being greate and rich, was sacked, and punished. *Turpilus* the gouernor, the sole man (as we told you) that escaped, was called before the *Generall* to answer the reuolt: He made some excuses, but was condemned to be whipped with rods, and then to be beheaded. For hee was a Citizen of *Italie*.

*Præfectū decet per  
vigilem esse, ueni-  
ni credere sed arcū  
semper tenere.*

*Non ex uole qua-  
litate Postia re-  
tinetur ad suppli-  
cium positi. et ac-  
te Cæsar.*

## CHAP. 22

The treason of *Bomilchar* discovered, and the party executed.

**A** Bout this time *Bomilchar*, by whose sollicitation *Iugurth* had consiſceded vnto the composition, nowe disauowed for pretexts of feare, began to grow ielous of the King, and the King of him. *Bomilchar* deuiseſh newe occasions: practiseſh to put his intended promise to *Metellus* in execution night and day, wearieſh his mind vpon the proiect: and at last vpon mature deliberation, associateth one *Nabdalsa* a welthy Gentleman, and one welbeloued of his countrey-men, into the conspiracy. His place was commonly to march somewhat disioyned from the Kings troopes, and to execute those directions which *Iugurth*, either for wearines, or vpon imploiment of other weighty affaires, could not himſelfe attend. By these imploiments the man attained to wealth and reputation.

They both by ioint consent agree vpon the day: the execution they referre to time and opportunity. *Nabdalsa* retireth to his charge by commaundement appointed to affront the winter garrisons of the *Romans*, so to awe them from waſting the adioyning territory without impediment.

At leisure, the gentlemen by reuoluing the foulneſſe

K k 2

of

*Consilium de iudicio faciendo.*

of the fact, kept not time: To speake truth, feare distressed performance. *Bomilchar* in like manner being desirous of dispatch, and perplexed at the irresolution of his associate, least peradventure by reuealing the olde Treason, he might affeekt newe pardon, by trusty Messengers conueyeth Letters vnto him; wherein hee taxeth him of base feare and carelesnesse: that he should remember his oath to the Gods by whom he had sworne; and lastly, to bee very circumspect least the rewardes of *Metellus* by his default turned not to their destruction. He failed not in a manner to prophesie, that the destruction of *Iugurth* was at hand, the question onely rested in this, whether it should be finished by their Vertue, or the *Generals* good fortune, and therefore he wished him to take counsell with his pillow, whether hee had rather receiue a reward, or vndergo a shamefull death.

Vpon the arriuall of these Letters, by great aduenture *Nabdalsa* being wearied with trauell and exercise, was cast vpon his bed: where after he had wel weighed the words of *Bomilchar*, first care, and then sleepe (the oppressors of perplexed consciences) attached his senses. His Secretary (a *Numidian*,) trusty and gracious vnto his master, and partaker of all his counsels (excepting this last) hearing of the deliury of certaine Letters, as at former times, supposing that his seruice was expected, entered the tent: where finding his Lord sleeping and the letter carelessly laid vpon his pillow, he took and read it. He posseth to the King.

*Nabdalsa* awaking, misling the Letter, and by swifte messengers vnderstanding from point to point how matters were carried, first commaundeth to pursue his Secretary, but in vaine. Whereupon he himselfe in person goeth vnto *Iugurth*, craueth pardon, and protesteth that what he had prepared and resolved to disclose, his seruice had preuented. With teares hee craueth reconciliation, and in recompence of his former seruice, hee beseecheth him not to bury the suspicion of so foule a treason in further remembrance.

The king contrary to his accustomed humor, beningly an-

answereth; that *Bomilchar* and many other (whome hee knew were guilty of the conspiracy) had suffered death: and that not to exasperate any further dislike vpon this occasion, he had taken truce with his indignation.

After this disaster, no day, no night could afford *Iugurth* any rest: place, men, and time, were suspicious vnto him. He feared his subiects and enemies alike. He looked strangely vpon all men, and started at euery noise, contrary to the honour of a King: By night hee tooke vp his lodging, sometime in one place, sometime in another. And sometime being disquieted in his sleepe, hee would rise, lay hold on his sword, and disquiet all others. This feare resembled frenzy.

### CHAP. 23.

*Marius in despite of the Nobility, is elected Consull by the people.*



*Metellus* being giuen to vnderstand by certaine fugitiues of the death of *Bomilchar*, and the discouery of the complot, prepareth & hasteneth all warlike prouisions, with as speedy diligence, as hee did in the beginning at his first setting forth.

Hee likewise dismisseth *Marius*, whom for his vntoward and crosse behauiour he now enuied, supposing his seruice would smally sted him.

The common people at *Rome*, by the aforesaide Letters vnderstanding what fame gaue out, concerning the Generall and *Marius*, where glad to heare the reports of either.

Nobility, which but lately aduaced the credit of *Metellus*, now procured him enuy: a vulgar discent, to *Marius* gained infinite fauor: yet this by the way, partialities towards both counterpoised the ballance; Vertues or vices were neuer questioned. Seditious Magistrats put fewell to the popu-

*Animus Tyranni nunquam quiescit*

*Omnes timet, et timetur ab omnibus*

*De Mario, quod accusasset Metellum, de Metello, quod in ciuim citaretur.*

popular fire. In all their orations they brand *Metellus* with desert of death: *Marius* they extoll as fast about desert.

Of the vulgar, being thus generally incensed, the *Mechaniques* and husband-men (whole wealth and credit consisted in their manuel labours) forsake their trades to countenance *Marius*, preferring his welfare before their thrift: whereat the gentry stood so amased, that after many a bitter controuersie, they were glad to conferre the consular dignity vpon this new man *Marius*.

*Quia maiores nū-  
quam obstruunt.*

Then arose *L. Manlius Mancinus*, and petitioned the people whom they did please to make choise off, for *Generall* in the warre against *Iugurth*: with one voice they answered, *Marius*; although the Senat but a while before had appointed *Numidia* for *Metellus* his prouince: But the faction was too weak, it preuailed nothing.

#### C H A P. 24.

1. *Iugurth* after his discomfiture, wholly relieth vpon the fastnes of the desarts. 2. Flyeth to *Thala*. 3. *Metellus* followeth, and forceth *Thala*. 4. The resolute Tragedy of the Fugitives.



**B**Y this time *Iugurth* hauing lost the hearts of his friends (some of whom he had slaine, & some for feare were fled to the *Romans*, & others to King *Bocchus*) began to be extremely disquieted with doubts and ielousies. Warre he could make none without sufficient commanders: and to make triall of new, sithence the old proue so perfidious, was a choice ful of danger. Neither the plot, the Counsel, nor the presence of any man could please him. His iornies and remoues he chāged euery day, sometime towards the enimie, sometime towards the desarts: to day he was of opinion, that flight was his safest refuge: to morrow, armes. The like ielouzie he fostered of the sufficiency, and loyalty of his people. Thus; vpon what side fouer hee resolved, all things

things fell out preposterous.

Admitt these contrarieties of his perplexed conscience, the enemies Army sheweth it selfe on a suddaine. The *Numidians*, according as the shortnesse of the time permitted, and *Iugurth* instructed, stand ready to receiue the charge. The battaile is begun, and well maintained in that part where *Iugurth* commanded: As for the residue of his followers, at their first approach they tooke theyr heeles, and fled. Of Ensignes, weapons, and Prisoners, the *Romans* took few: for commonly in al fights, the *Numidians* repose greater confidence in their feete, then honour in their Armes.

2 After the rout, the first stage that *Iugurth* (now more then at any time before, mistrusting the successe of the action) breathed at, with the fugitiues & part of the horsemen, were the Deserts; the second, *Thala*; a great and wealthy Borrough, the chamber of his Treasure, and the wardrobe of his childrens furniture.

*Romani, qui eum  
deseruere non  
auderant.*

Whereof when *Metellus* was aduertised, although he knewe that the nearest riuer was fifty miles distant from the Towne, and the territory adiacent was waterlesse and barren, and dispeopled: yet such were his hopes to finish the warre, if hee might become Lorde of the place, that without further temporizing, he resolued to ouercome all difficulties: yea rather then to desist; to wraitle his vtmost against Nature.

3 In dispatch whereof, he commandeth all his beasts of carriage to be laden with baggage, saue ten daies sustenance for horse and man. He maketh the greatest provision he can for bottles and caske: Doth as much for tame Cattle throughout the Villages, and vpon their backes layeth Vessalles of all contents: most of them were made of wood, taken out of the *Numidian* cottages. To the borderers, after the flight, he iniointh subiection, and to furnish him with water from the nearest riuers. The Randeow of deliery he proscribeth: and burdeneth not his owne Cattle, vntil he came to the Riuer nearest the town, whereof we spake but now.

Now is *Metellus* vpon his march towards *Thala*, when  
arriving

*Principium seruet  
medium calet, &  
sepet imum.*

arriving at the place, where he had commanded the *Nu-  
midians* to attend him with water; by that time hee had  
pitched and fortified his campe, so violent a storme of  
raine is reported to haue fallen from the heavens, that it  
yeelded water enough, and to spare, for him and his peo-  
ple. Viſuals were as plentifull about expectation, for  
that (as it commonly falleth out) in alterations of State,  
euery man proueth extraordinary officious.

The souldiers reputed of the chance, as of a diuine *O-  
men*: and vpon confidence that the Gods were carefull of  
their fortunes; they doubled their courages.

The next day (contrary to all imagination of *Iugurth*)  
they arrive at *Thala*: the Townesmen, who till now be-  
leeued that they had bin out of gunshot by their inaceſ-  
ſible ſituation, ſtood aſtoniſhed of ſo vnlookt for an ac-  
cident, but with all, make neuer the leſſe preparation to  
maintaine warre; the *Romans* do the like.

But the King verily beleeuing, that nothing was im-  
poſſible to *Metellus*, as the onely man, who by induſtrie  
had overcome Armes, Engines, time, places, & Nature  
her ſelfe, the Conquerors of all other creatures; with his  
children and an infinite maſſe of money flyeth out of the  
Town by night. Afterward ſtaying in no one place about  
a day and a night, vpon cunning hee gaue out that his af-  
fares vrged for expedition, but truth was, that he hoped  
by continuall and ſpeedy chaunge of abode, to preuent  
Treaſon, which he feared extreemely: for who knoweth  
not that negligence inciteth ill counſel to make uſe of op-  
portunity.

*Metellus* perceiuing in what ſort the Townesmen pre-  
pared for his welcome; and that the Town likewiſe was  
fortified by Art and Nature, incircleth the walles with a  
ditch and a rampart. Then commandeth he his ſouldiers,  
as the ſoile would giue them leaue, to raiſe their Vines a-  
gainſt the fitteſt places, and vpon them a mount, and vp-  
on the mount, Towers: and quartereth out the works to  
the defence of his Pioners.

4 The Townesmen labour as faſt to fruſtrate theſe  
deuiſes: on either ſide nothing could be better performed  
to

to conquer, to defend. The *Romans* almoſt out of heart  
by infinite labour, and daily conflicts, the fortieth day af-  
ter their firſt ariual, gained only the towne, the *Fugitiues*  
conſumed the treasure. For after they perceiued, that  
the Ram played vpon the wall, and that with them there  
was no way but one, gold, ſiluer, and what euery mortall  
people account precious, they ſtowed in the kings pallace:  
and then loading their ſences with wine and good cheere,  
they fiered it, themſelues, and the Pallace.

Thus, the puniſhment which the conquered expected  
at their enemies hand, they wreaked voluntarily vpon  
their owne carcaſes.

## CHAP. 25.

1 *Metellus ſuccoureth Leptis.* 2 *A digreſſion vpon occaſion  
of the ſtrange death of two Carthaginean brethren.*



*S* *Thala* was in ſaccage, certain  
Ambaſſadors from *Leptis* arri-  
ued before *Metellus*, intreating  
him to ſend a Preſident with  
ſome companies into their town,  
for that one *Amilchar*, a Noble  
man of the City, went about  
to alienate the allegiances of the

inhabitantes from the *Romans*. From this his intolkeie,  
neither the authority of the Magiſtrate, nor the terrour of  
the laws, could deterre him: vntleſſe they made haſt, the  
ſafety of the Towne with the loyalty of the *Roman* alloci-  
ates, was greatly to be doubted of.

From the beginning of the *Iugurthian* warre, the peo-  
ple of *Leptis* entred a league of confederacy with the Con-  
ſull *Bellia*; and after him, they ſent to *Rome* to perfect the  
Articles. After the confirmation whereof, they alwaies  
remained loyall confederats to the *Roman* people, yea and  
performed their vtmoſt ſeruices to *Bellia*, *Albinus* and  
*Metellus*.

In regard whereof, at the firſt motion, they obtained  
their requeſt of *Metellus*, who preſently diſpatched away

L1

four

four *Ligurian* cohorts with *C. Annius* their Captaine.

The towne was first built by the *Sidomians*, whoe (as report goeth) arriued there by shippinge, being bannished their countrey for their ciuill dissentions.

It is situated betweene two sandes, and seemeth to deriue its name from the place. For vpon the vmost bounds of *Affrica* two baies extend themselues, in hugeness vnequall, in condition equall; sometime as the winde standeth, Nauigable, at an other time dry and passable. For as the Sea prooueth high and tempestuous, so doe the waues driue the sands, the people & the rockie stones. Thus the vse of the place dependeth vpon the casualities of the stormes.

The language of the people is changed by the proximity of the *Numidians*, but their lawes and religion remaine meere *Sidonian*, which they haue retained the better vncorrupted, for that they liued farre remote from the Court; many vaste & desart countries lying between them and the inhabited partes of *Numidia*.

2. And now sithence the affaires of the *Leptitians* hath drawn my pen into these Regions, I thinke the worthy and memorable exploit of two *Carthaginians* there happening worth relation. The very place enforceeth me to write of the accident.

At what time, the *Carthaginians* were Lords ouer the greater part of *Affrique*, the *Cyrenians* were also a state rich and powerfull. The vacable Countrey betweene them was sandye, by colour or nature nothing discernable; no riuer, no mountaine distinguished their borders. This indifference was cause of long wars to both parties, wherein after they had wasted their Legions, sunk & torne their nauies, and almost ruinated both their estates, fearing least a third party taking the aduantage, should prey aswell vpon the conqueror as the conquered, by a mutuall truce they sel to agreement, each party to send their ambassadors from home vpon a day prefixed: looke where both chanced to meete, there should bee the bondes of each others territory.

Two brethren named *Phileni* were sent from *Carthage*:  
the

The *Carthaginians* made all possible hast; the *Lirenians* iorned slowly: whether to attribute the cause to negligence, or chance, I cannot resolve. For in these deserts the eyes and faces of trauelliers are no lesse molested with tempests of sands, raised by the windes vpon these leuell, barren, & vast plaines, then are the Marriners without compasse in outragious gulfes at Sea. These for want of true kenning might bee impediments to their speed.

Which when the *Cirenians* perceiued, and for their negligence feared vpon their returne to be punished, they caualled at the *Carthaginians*, charging the, that they had departed from home, before the time appointed. The matter became litigious: The *Cirenians*, were content to accept of any condition, rather then to returne with imputation of priuate disgrace. The *Carthaginians* aduow to refuse no condition, so it were iust and reasonable. The *Cirenians* make this ouerture: That eyther the *Carthaginians* should suffer themselues to be buried aliue in the place, which they desired to make the limit of their State: or else to suffer them (the *Cirenians*) vpon like teames, to passe further on to the end of their intended voyage. The *Phileni* accepted the march, & sacrificed their liues to the honor of their Country, and there made choice to be buried. To these Brethren, the *Carthaginians* in that very place erected two alters: at home they recorded their memories with other ceremonies. Now returne I to my matter.

### CHAP. 26.

*Iugurth* flyeth to King *Bocchus*, and procureth him to make Warre against the Romans.



After the losse of *Thala*, *Iugurth* supposing that no place could afford him sufficient security, against the good conduct of *Metellus*; with small attendance, he resolueth to passe ouer the vast deserts, to the *Getuli*; a people rude and barbarous; who before that time, had neuer heard of the



*Roman name.* Of these, he allureth a tumultuary multitude; by little and little inyereth them to discipline; to follow their Ensignes, to hearken to their commanders, and finally to oblerue all other points of souldiery.

Secondly, by present entertainment, and farre greater promises, he procureth the fauourites of King *Bocchus*, to bee a meanes to his Maiesty in fauour of so distressed a neighbour, to begin the warre against the *Romans*.

His sute was the sooner and easier haikened vnto, vpon occasion, that in the beginning of this Warre, the King had sent his Ambassadors to *Rome*, to desire their loue & friendship.

Which Ouerture most aduantageous for the time, some few men blinde, through Auarice, and accustomed to make all suites saleable, in the beginning frustrated.

Moreouer, *Iugurth* had married the daughter of *Bocchus*: but that bonde is little accounted of amongst the Moores and *Numidians*; for that euery man, according to his ability, may haue as many wiues as him list: some ten, some more; Kings most of all: who hauing their minds thus distracted by variety, reckon no one for their lawfull spouse, but account all alike, vile and contemptible.

Both kings, both Armies, make their interview in an appointed place with equal goodliking: There they plight reciprocal oaths, and *Iugurth* the more to exasperate the mind of *Bocchus* by his Oration, *Tearmeth* the *Romaines* to be an inuisible people, of insatiable Auarice, a common enemy to al men: That, the same reasons vpon which they grounded the pretence of warre against *Iugurth*, and many other Nations, the same they would inforce for good, against *Bocchus*, (viz:) their Ambition of Soueraignty. In which their imperious humors, they account all kings their enemies, at this instant, *Himselfe*; a little before, the *Carthaginians*, and king *Perfes*, yea, and heereafter euery one as hee groweth by wealth or greatnesse to be a mote in their eyes.

After these speeches, they take their iourney towardes *Cirtha*, for that *Quintus Metellus* had made that City the seat of the Warre, and therein had bestowed his spoies,

*Honestu, et inhonestu.*

*Quoniam calida vitae inductione a tribus temporibus: a praeterito, per Carthaginenses, a presenti per se, a futuro, per Bocchum nisi profuerit.*

his

his Prisoners, and the baggage of the Army. His reasons were, first, that if he forced the place, the spoile would proue exceeding profitable; secondly, if *Metellus* should offer to succour the besieged, then was he sure, both Armies should not part without blowes. For his policies did onely aime by celerity to ingage *Bocchus*, least by delay (the King not yet vnterly despairing of peace) might change his minde, and accept of any conditions, rather then of warre.

The Generall vnderstanding of these Combinations, accepteth not rashly of euery proffer of fight & place, as oftentimes he had accustomed to do after hee had once ouerthrowne *Iugurth*, but fortifying his campe not farre from *Cirtha*, maketh prooffe of the enemies courage, accounting it more safe (seeing hee had to doe with a new-come Nation) after some triall of the *Moorish* valour, to fight at pleasure to his best aduantage.

By this time he receiueth aduertisement, that at *Rome* *Numidia* is fallen by lot to *Marius*, that hee had attained the Consulship, he had learned long before. The newes whereof so moued him beyond all meane and measure, that he could not forbear teares, neither (being so worthy a personage, adorned with all other vertues) moderate his tongue, or beare this crosse with manlike behaviour: for which, some scandalized him with pride: others excused him, with replice, that his generous Nature was onely agreed at the disgrace: for that the victory now already as good as gained, was iniuriously wrested out of his hands. To vs, it is sufficiently knowne, that the honour of *Marius*, more then any conceit of disgrace, disquieted his mind: for if the prouince had befallen to any man besides, he could haue brooked it with requisite patience.

But howeuer, *Metellus* stomacking his successor, and accounting it a fond part by indangering himselfe to pleasure another, sendeth Ambassadors to intreat *Bocchus*, that without cause hee would not shew himselfe an enemy to the Roman people: that at this present he had faire opportunity to renew his suite of alliance, and friendship, which at any hand

*ad placitum hostis*

*s. Authori.*

hand were to be preferred before war. Yea although his abilities might in a manner promise assurance, yet were it not wisdom, so hazard certainties for incertainties. The beginning of all wars were plausible, but their ends distastfull. They are in no one mans power to begin and end, at pleasure. Euen Cowards may take Armes when they please, lay them down, they cannot, but by sufferance of the victor. And therefore he admitted him, to bet hinke himselfe of his owne, & his kingdoms, safety, rather then to intangle his flourishing and prosperous estate with the desperate courses of Iugurth.

Heereunto the King gaue a very cutreous reply; That his desire was onely peace: but withall took compassion on the hard estate of Iugurth. If like Overture might bee offered him, without doubt, they should soone compound all controuersies. The Generall returneth this aunswere to Bocchus; That something he allowed, something he refused. So, in this manner by sending and refending of Messages, time wasted, & by the cautellous conniuecy of Metellus the Warre was protracted, and nothing set forward:

## CHAP. 27.

Marius by the meere fauour of the people is declared Consull against the minds of the Nobility. And sent into Affrique. His demeanour in the seruice.



**M**arius (as we told you before) by the tumultuous and most affectionate assistance of the people, being created Consull, and Numidia also allotted him for his prouince. If before hee were seuered against the Nobility, now was hee much more fierce and incompatible: sometimes wronging them in particular, sometimes in generall. He would often boast, that he carried the Consullship as a spoile from his conquered enemies; many times breathing out high words concerning his owne worth, and to their disgrace. Well, his first cares he turneth to preparations for warre; he requireth new supplies for the Legions; & calleth vnto the populer estates, vnto kings, & alics, for

aids. In

In Italy, hee sendeth for euery valiant gentleman, moit, before knowne vnto him for their sufficiency, few by report; and amongst them, by a faire words and promises he constraineth the cashiered seruitors to goe along likewise: Neither durst the Senate, although they misliked the president, withstand him in any thinge. But with right good will they decreed him supplies, in hope that by forcing the vulgar to seruice, he should either be deceiued in their vse, or wholly lose their affections: but the winding vp of all fell out far otherwise; so ardent a desire had possessed most men, to accompany Marius, with hopes that they should returne victors, loden with rich spoyles, and military honors.

To these suppositions, the Oration of Marius had added no smal encouragement: for after that all allowances were decreed him, which he could or would demand, he inuolled his souldiors; and aswell to insinuate with the vulgar, as to nettle the Nobility (his accustomed humour) he callet an assembly of the people: Before whom he reasoned to this, or like purpose.

## Marius Oration.

**I** know worthy Romans, that the behauiours of most men far differ in the request and execution of honourable offices. They pretend at first an exterior habite of industry, temperance and humility: But confirmed in authority, passe their time in pride, arrogance and idlenesse. For my part I am of a contrary opinion: for by how much the vniuersall body of this Common wealth is of greater consequence, then either a Consullship, or the dignity of a Prætor: by so much the more ought that to be respectiue governed, then this so earnestly desired. Nor am I ignorant, how burdensome a charge I haue with your exceeding fauour undertaken: as namely, to wage warre, and that, without exhausting your Treasury. To compell euen those to beare Armes, vnto whom you would by no meanes be offensive: and in a word, to manage the whole affaires of your estate, as well domesticall as forren: The performance whereof, resting amongst so many turbulent, enni-

a Prece, non im-  
p-ria.  
b Cum ab senatu  
essent requisiti &  
iure donati.  
Quando legiones  
exultabant, se p-  
plem totum dicitur

ous and thwarting spirites, Deare Cittizens is a burthen beyond imagination, greivous.

Moreover, whereas the abuses of other magistrats, are perchance countenanced with their titles of Ancient Nobility, the prowess of their Auncelors, power of their allies, or multitude of their retinue: my hope and assurance resteth on my self alone; which I must necessarily maintaine by Vertue and Innocency. For other means are vnprofitable. Again, I know wel, that the eyes of all men are fixed vpon me; that good and iust men loue me, as one whose deeds haue tended to the advancement of this Common-wealth: but the Greatest watch opportunity to disgrace me; My uttermost endeuors are therefore now to be employed, that both your expectation may bee satisfied, and they frustrated. I haue hetherto from mine infancie voluntarily accustomed my selfe to labour, and exposed my youth to perill: Wherefore being now honoured with so large a recompence, I am not determined to forgo those courses, which before I vnderooke vnrenarded. Temperance and Authority seldome concur in those, whom Ambition onely furnissheth with apparances and shadowes of honesty; but in me that haue alwaies bene conuersant in the best actions, a familiar custom of doing well is become naturall.

By your Commission I am to war with Jugurth: The Nobilitie heereat repine: be therefore well aduised, whether it be meet to alter your determination, or not: and from out this confused heape of Gentry, to commit the direction of these & such like busineses, to some one or other of auncient race, and many glorious discents, but no experience to the end, that thorough ignorance and weaknesse bee may tremble vnder the waight of so great a charge; and be enforced to entertain any meane fellowe to instruct him in his Office. By which it often falleth out, that he whom you haue made a Commander, shall himseife be subiect to the command of another.

I know there are many that euen after they are made Consuls, begin first to peruse the monuments of their predecessors, and to read the military preceptes of the Gracian discipline. But these preposterously peruert all order; since the knowledge how to governe ought to precede the practise of government: Now therefore (worthy Romaines) compare me scarce yet a Gentleman;

Gentleman with their presumptuous and proud arrogancie: what they haue either heard or read, I haue partly seene, partly put in execution, and what they from written volumes haue gathered, I haue abroad in warfare purchased by experience. Bee you then Iudges, whether is of greater vawle: deedes or wordes? The obscuritie of my birth is to them: contemptible: to me, their Cowardice: they vpbraid me, with fortune, I them, with dishonesty. It is true, we are all sprung from one and the same Vniuersall Nature, yet the most valiant ought to be reputed the most generous and Noble. If the Fathers of Albinus or Calphurnius Bestia, were now to be demanded, whether they had rather haue had children like me, or those. What should we conceit, would haue bin their answere? doubtles to haue had the woorthiest. So that by Embasishing mee, they likewise traduce the worth of their own Auncelors, whose first Nobility like mine was Originally deriued from their owne vertues. They enuy my promotion, let them likewise enuy my labours, mine innocency and my daungers, for by these was I first raised. But men transported with Pride and selfe-conceite so lme, as if they disdained your dignities, and yet so desire the, as if they were men of a most sincere & vncorrupted integrity. But their hopes beguile them, & vainly they expect the fruition of a most manifest Contrariety, the pleasure of sloth, and the meed of Vertue. Moreover, in publick assemblies, either before you or the Senate, their Orations are for the most part full fraught with the glorie of their forefathers, imagining that something may be added to their owne worths by the Narration of their exploits; when contrarily, by howe much the more their Vertues surmount others, by so much the more base are these their degenerate and sluggish off-spring. For noble Ancestry is as a light shining on posteritie, which exposeth all their actions, whether good or bad to the interpretation & suruey of the worlde. In these matters albeit I am needy, yet, which is far more rich & honorable, I may iustly boast of mine owne deeds. But behold their partialtie; they allow me not that respect for mine owne vertues, which themselves (vniuersal vrsurpers) arrogate for other mens. And vwhy? My Galleries are not beset with statues, my Gentilitie is yet but sprouting, which truly in me is more worthy to haue begun, then in

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them

them to haue defaced what was hereditary.

I doubt not but if they were to answer me, you should finde them abounding with adornate elegancy of speecche, and well composed Orations: yet since they neuer cease, to vomit the poison of their tongues, both against you (worthy Romans) & my selfe, for these dignities bestowed vpon me, I list no longer to refraine, least modesty and silence argue a guilty conscience: For mine owne part, their slaunders hurt me not, since necessity shall compell them to speak the truth, when as the vprightnesse of my life and conuersation shall confute their falsehoodes.

But, inasmuch as they haue taxed your Counsels and Decrees, in authorizing me, for the dispatch of so great a businesse, be ye therefore thorowly aduised, whether ye shall euer haue cause to repent your selues of this appointment. I confesse, I am not able to alleadge (as witnesses of my desert) eyther a long drawne pedigree, triumphall Chariots, or the Consulships of my progenitors; But if need were, of Spears, Ensignes, Barbes for Horses, and other such like rewardes & ornaments of Chivalry: to which, if ye also adde, a body mangled with scarres and woundes, I could produce abundance. These are my Achieuements; This my Nobility, not lineallie descending by course of inheritance, but with industry, sweate, and the expence of much bloud, achieved.

My speeches are not well featured, I want Eloquence, but I regard it not: my vertue is sufficient to shew it selfe: onely these shamefull actions require the couerture of glosing phrases. I vnderstand not the Grecians, nor am I able to spel their characters! In truth I desire it not: for hence the knowledge thereof hath towards the purchase of vertue, so little auailed her professors. But in that which more aduantageth our estate; To assaile the Enemy, to chase their Garrisons, to bee affrighted onely with infamy, to lie hard, and finally with equall patience to endure Heate, Colde, Hunger, thirst and trauayle; herein I am expert: with these rudiments will I instruct my souldiors, without eyther austere vsage towards them, or daintinesse in my selfe, nor by their labours ayming onely at the aduancement of mine owne peculiar credite or reputation.

These

These rules are profitable, & establish a right ciuill gouernment; but whereas effeminate men, are themselves couched and nuzled in soft delicacie, yet rigorously intreat their souldiers, they are rather maisters than Captaines. Their worthie Ancestors of famous memory, haue onely by those meanes before recited, enobled both themselves and their Countreies, whom whilst we endeavour to trace in those steppes of honour, these their succeeding issues, vnlke in conditions, onely confident in the merits of their ancestors, contemn our proceedings, as repusing all Offices of command due onely to their birthes, nothing to deserts. But (proud men) they are farre deceiued: for albeit their fathers gaue them wealth, left them Crestes, & their vndying memories, yet vertue, which may neither be giuen or taken, they were vnable to bequeath vnto them. Amongst these men I am esteemed barbarous and vnciuill, because I affect not their neat fashion of banquetting, maintaine not a stage player, or some ridiculous Zanni: keep not a more exquisite Cooke, and such like: All which I am wel pleased to acknowledge. For I haue oft heard my father, & other honest men say, that curiosity is meete for a woman, but labour for a man, and that vnto generous and heroycall minds, renowne is more valewable then wealth, and Armes a more befitting Ornament, then household furniture.

But let them proceed: That which pleaseth them, that which they so highly fancy, let them alwaies followe. Let them Lust, Drinke, Feast, and ryot, and hauing thus spent their youth, so likewise let their old age be as dissolute; deuoted to banquets, bellycheare, & most beastly sensuality: As for sweate, industry and toile, let them be shared amongst vs, vnto whom they are farre more delectable, then all their choise varietie of Iunckers.

But alas it will not be, for these vnworthy, and vile people, thus rainted with villany, thus dishonested with basenes, are yet most forward to assume vnto themselves those rewardes, which are onely proper to the wel-deseruing: such (most vniustly) is the propriety of those vices, Sloth and Luxury, that they endamage onely the Commonwealt, not their professors.

So then, hauing as farre forth, as my modestie, though

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not

not the heynousnesse of their abuses, might permit me, briefly answered vnto your Nobility, I will now speake a few words touching our present imployment. And first, deare Romans, bee ye all confident in the affaires of Numidia: for yee haue now remoued those Obstacles which before were aduantages vnto Iugurth; Pride, Auarice, and Ignorance. Moreover ye haue there an Army that know wel the Country: But in truth I esteeme them more valiaunt then fortunate; For the most part of them haue bin cut off by the Auarice and inconsiderate rashnesse of their Commanders. Wherefore all yee, whose able bodies may brooke the warres, now enforce your selues with me, that our ioynt endenours may labour in the defence of our Common-wealth: nor let your conrage droope, either for the miseries of other men, or foolish pride of their Captaines, my selfe will be your guid, and in all your Marches, and in euerie battell, will be both a Counsellor and a Companion vnto you, my Gouernment equally extending to you as to my selfe, without regard of difference: so that heauens assisting our enterprise, we shall not faile of speedie victorie, faire honour, and wealthy booties. Which albeit they may rest doubtfull and remote, yet it becommeth good men, euen in regard of common honestie to assit their Countrie. Sloth neuer purchased immortallitie, neither do fathers pray that their children might liue for euer, but liue honestly. More I would say, if wordes could encourage Cowards: To the valonrous I haue spoken sufficiencia.

Marius hauing finished this Oration and heereby perceiving the minds of the Comminalty erected, forthwith caused ships to be laden, with Victuals, Treasure, munition, and other necessaries. With these hee commaundeth *Aulus Manlius* his Lieutenant to set forward, mean while himselfe rated men, not according to the ancient custom, nor out of the degrees and ranks of people (as was vsed by his predecessors) but according to euery mans good will and liking: men for the most part (by reason of their poverty) exempted from contribution to publicke taxations: The which some imputed to the want of other sufficient souldiers, others to the ambition of the Consul, who by

by such kind of people had been most aduanced & magnified: For to an aspiring spirit, the most needy persons are the most fit instruments, as beeing such that haue no care of their owne, because they haue nothing, and in that regard esteeme all things honest that saue of profit. *Marius* therefore accompanied with a greater number then was decreed him, went into *Africa*, and in few dayes arriued at *Vtica*. Where the Army was deliuered vppeto him by *P. Rutilius* the Lieutenant. For *Metellus* would by no means brooke the presence of *Marius*, vnwilling to see, what in his heart hee could not endure to heare. But the Consul *Marius* hauing supplied his Legions & auxiliary Cohorts, or bandes of succour, led his army into a fruitfull Country, stored with rich preyes and booties, & bestowed the pillage thereof vpon his soldiers. This done, he assaulted such Castles and Townes, as both for their situation and strength of men, were least able to make defence: In other places likewise he had many battailes & light skirmishes: In the meane while his newe souldiers began to grow hardy, and to enter into fight without any feare of perill, as wel perceiuing, that all such as fled, were either slain or taken captiues: that euery mans assurance of safety rested in his strength and sufficiency: that vpon Armes and prowesse their welfare depended: That their Liberty, their Country, their Kinred, and whatsoeuer they had, consisted heerein: and finally, that this was the way to acquire glory and riches. By reason whereof, in short space, both new and old alike grew valourous, and their vertues became equall.

But the two Kings aduertised of the approach of *Marius*, deuiding their Army; seuerally departed vnto the most vnaccessable and difficult places, which was done by the aduise of *Iugurth*, hoping by these means that the *Roman* Army, scattering it selfe and stragling abroad, might the more easily be inuaded, and that they like the most part of men, secure & void offeare, would become the more improident and lesse circumspect.

*Metellus* in this meane season arriued at *Rome*: where, contrary to his expectation, he was ioyfully welcomed by

by the *Romans*, and after the enuy raised against him, was ouerblowne, was alike held deare vnto the people, & the Senate.

## CHAP. 28.

1 *Marius in sundry small bikerings distressth Iugurth and Bocchus.* 2 *Altereth the course of the war.* 3 *And without losse taketh and sacketh Capſa.* 4 *His praises.*

**B**UT *Marius* like a prudent and industrious Capraine, had an eie both on his owne Army and his enemies: he wel perceiud what most aduantaged or disaduantaged th'one or other side: he set spies to obserue what waies the kings tooke, & ouerreached all their counsels & stratagems: he suffered nothing to bee slacke or vnprovidid on his part, or any thing to remaine safe and secure to the other side. By reason whereof, many times on his way hee charged and defeated *Iugurth*, & the *Getulians* as he found them foraging and spoiling out confederates, and not far from the Town of *Cirtha* forced the King himself to leaue his armes behind him.

But at length perceiuing, that these exploits were only glorious, and no way furthered him to force *Iugurth* to battaile: whereby at one blow he might impose an ende vnto these lingering warres, he determined to besiege all such Townes, as either for strength of men or natural defence, were of greatest importance and succor to the enemy; and contrarily most preiudiciall to the *Romans*: Imagining, that *Iugurth*, if he endured this, should bee debattered of his strongest forts & places of refuge, or at least, be heerby prouoked to a pitcht battel. For *Bocchus* by sundry Messengers had before signified vnto *Marius*, that for his part he was desirous of amitie and friendship with the *Romans*, and that he should not feare him as an enemy.

But whether he dissembled heerin, to the end, that surprising the *Romans* vnawares, he might giue them the greater blowe, or whether through the inconstancy and instability of his mind, it was vsuall with him to change war for peace, it is vncertaine.

But

But the Consull proceeding in his former resolution, began to assault townes and fortified castles, some whereof he tooke by force, some through fear, & others by promise of reward & bounty: at first he dealt with the smaller sort, supposing that *Iugurth* would for their defence be drawn to a battaile: but receiuing intelligence, that he was gone far off, and imployed in other affaires, he thought it high time to attempt matters of greater consequence, and more difficulty.

3 There was a Towne large and strong, scituates in the vast and wilde desertes, named *Capſa*: of which *Hercules Lybius* was said to be the first founder. The Inhabitants hereof, vnder the gouernment of *Iugurth*, were gently and peaceably ruled, free from tribute, and in that regard remained most firme and true vnto him.

They were furnished against forraigne inuasion, not onely with walles, Armes, and Men, but which was much more, by the difficulty of the place and scituation. For excepting those fieldes that lay neere vnto the Towne, all the Region about, was wilde, desert, and vnmanned; wanting Water, and anoyed with Serpentes, who (as all other wilde beastes) become enraged for want of meate. Moreouer, the mischieuous Nature of those Serpents, is by nothing more then by drought prouoked.

*Marius* was maruailously enflamed with a desire to take this Towne, as well for the seruice of the Warre, as for that it seemed a very hard and difficult enterprise, and partly for that *Metellus* had formerly with great applause taken the Towne of *Thala*, not much vnlike this place, eyther for scituation or defence: Onely the difference was, that not farre from the VValles of *Thala* were certaine Springes and Fountaines; whereas the *Capſians* had but one continuall water-spring, and that within their wals: those without vsing no other then rain-water, which both there, and in all other places of *Affrique*, remote from the Sea, that are wilde and desert, is the more easily endured, for that the *Numidians* for the most part feede on Mice, and the flesh of sauage beasts; desiring neyther Salt, nor other Sawce to whet there stomackes, as hauing prouisi-

on

sion sufficient to appease hunger and thirst, but not for superfluity or daintinesse.

The Consul therefore having enquired the truth of these matters; became confident, I think on the help of the gods. For it was impossible he should either in wit or policy have beene sufficiently provided to encounter so many difficulties, especially having there but small store of Corne (for as much as the *Numidians* imploy their grounds rather in pasture then tillage) & that quantity which they had, was by the Commandement of their king conveyed into their strong holds. Their fields were also dry and barren without fruit, it being then the latter end of Summer: Howbeit, *Marius* made sufficient provision as his occasions required. Hee committed to his auxiliary troopes of horse the convey of such Cattle, as formerly he had taken from the enemy, and sent his Lieutenant *Aulus Marius* with his lightest armed Cohorts to the Towne of *Laris*, where he had layed in his souldiers pay, and victuals: alledging that hee himselfe would go a forraging, and within fewe daies meet him there.

Thus concealing his purpose, he led his army toward the River *Tanis*: and made daily in his journies equall & ratable distribution of his Cattle amongst his Army, as they were devided by hundreds, and troopes of thirties, or other small companies. taking order that of the hides of those beasts, should bee made vessels for the carriage of Water: And moreover (no man knowing his pretence) he provided such store of Corne and other necessities as shortly should be requisite for his intended enterprize. In a word, on the sixth day arriuing at the river, he had a great number of those vessels made of the hides of beasts: I here pitching his Tents slightly fortified, he commaunded his souldiers to take their repast, and beready to depart by the setting of the Sunne; willing them further to leave all their baggage behinde, and charge their carriages onchle with water.

At length, when he saw his time, he departed from his Tents, and travellling all that night, rested on the morning with his Army: The like he did the second night, and the third

third night, long before day, hee arriued at a place full of Hillocks, not above two miles distant from the Town of *Capsa*; where, as couertly as he could, he ambushed his army. But the day approching, & a great part of the *Numidians* not mistrusting any enemy, being issued out of the Towne, *Marius* suddenly caused all his Horse, and with those, his lightest foot-men to make hast, and seize vpon the gates of the City: Immediatly himselfe followed, giuing expresse charge to his Souldiers to refraine from pillage. Which when the Towns-men perceiued, there estate standing on such dangerous teares, extream fear, a mischief so vnlooked for, and moreover, a great part of their fellow-cittizens surprized, and in the power of their enemies, moued the to yeeld the town to *Marius*. Foorthwith the City was fired, all of the age of fourteene yeares and yppwardes put to the Sword, the rest sold, & the prey deuided amongst the Souldiers. Which iniurious acte, contrary to the Law of armes, was not committed either for avarice, or barbarous cruelty in the Consul, but because the place was most commodious for *Jugurth*, & almost vnaccessable to the *Romans*: Moreover, they were a kind of people inconstant & faithlesse, & in former times could not be contained in obedience, neither through fear or fauor. 4. *Marius* hauing so speedily finished so great an enterprize, without any losse of his own, albeit he was renowned before, yet now began to be of greater fame and estimation: now al his designs and proiects, as well such as were put in execution through good aduise, as such also, as inconsiderately & by chance were aduentured, were ascribed wholly to his vertue & pollicy: His Souldiers ouer whom he mildely comanded, being likewise enriched by these seruices, extolled his name to the heavens, & the *Numidians* feared him, as if he had bin more then mortall. Finally, as well his companions as his enemies, were of opinion, that hee had either a diuine vnderstanding, or at least, that by the Goddes appointment, the euents of his enterprizes were reuealed vnto him.

CHAP. 29.

The fortunate surprising of a strong Castle by a strange aduenture. 2. An honorable testimony of Sillaes worthinesse.

N n

But



**B**Ut these matters hauing thus fortunately succeeded, the Confull sets forward to other Townes, some few whereof he tooke by force, the *Numidians* resisting; but the greater number were abandoned and left desolate by reason of the former calamities of the *Capsians* destroyed by fire, euery place was filled with griefe and slaughter. At length, hauing gained many places, and thole for the most part, without losse of any *Roman* blood, he vndertooke another exploit, not altogether so toilsome as was that of the *Capsians*, yet no lesse difficult. Not farre from the Riuer of *Mulucha*, that deuides the kingdome of *Iugurth* and *Bocchus*, there is a rocke or stony mountayne in the midst of a plaine, whereon was scituated a rude castle, large enough, but of an incredible heighth, hauing one only narrow entrance into it: The discent of this rocke was naturally so steepe, as if purposely it had been so built by the hands of workmen; *Marius* with all his endeouours intended to force this Castle, for that the Kinges treasure lay there, which he effected, (but rather by chaunce than cunning) for in the Castle was sufficient prouision, both of men, munition and corne, as also a spring of water.

Morcouer, the scituation thereof was such, as by no meanes was assailable, eyther by Mounts, Towers, Turrets, or other warlike Engines, the entry thereinto being very narrow, trauesed and cut on both sides: Our approaches also were made to no purpose, and with great perill, for as they came neere the wall, they were beaten downe and destroyed with fire and stones; So as the Souldiers could neither performe their workes for the steepnesse of the place, nor serue without perill in their approaches: The valiantest were either slaine or wounded, and feare augmented in the rest.

But *Marius* after many daies, and much labour, with great peniuenesse pondered with himselfe, whether hee should forgo this enterprize, wherein he seemed to labour in vaine, or attend his fortune, which had oft times prooued successfull vnto him: These things hauing many daies and nights reuolued in his mind, it fell out that a certaine *Ligurian*, a common souldior of his auxiliary cohorts, by chance comming to a water not farre from that side of

of the Castle, which was opposite to the besiegers, found certaine Periwinkles creeping among the stones: whereof when hee had taken vp first one, then another, and so sought others, was by this desire of gathering more, by little and little brought vp to the toppe of the Mountaine: where seeing the coast cleare and void of people, forthwith (according to the condition of men) a desire of exploiting great matters entred into his conceit. There grew in the same place a great Holme-tree amongst the stones, being a little bended downe towards the ground, & forthwith winding vpward (as is the Nature of all Vegetalles) and shooting it selfe on high towards the top of the Castle: by the helpe whereof, the *Ligurian* sometimes taking holde on the armes thereof, sometimes on the outmost stones of the wall, climbed to the top, where vnderwood of any, he deseried the whole plaine of the Castle, for that the *Numidians* were then absent, busily employed in fight against the besiegers. The souldier hauing searched & spied out all things which he thought needfull, returned the same way hee came, not rashly as hee ascended, but with great regard and Caution. Forthwith he retired to *Marius*, declaring what hee had done, and aduised him to attempt the Castle on that side, from whence he had disced, offering himselfe for a guid, and alledging that there was no hazard or perill in the enterprize. *Marius* forthwith commanded such as were then present to go with the *Ligurian*, to try the truth of this information: who returning made diuers reports thereof, euery man according to his fancy, some esteeming it to be an easie, some a difficult enterprize. But the Confull began to be of better cheare, and forthwith out of his number of Trumpiters and Cornets he selected fise, the most nimble and light amongst them, and withall foure Centuries for their aide and succour: All which he willed to be at the commaund of the *Ligurian*, vnto whom hee appointed the next day for the execution of this seruice, who at the time limited, according to his commandement, hauing prepared and ordred all things necessary, repaired vnto the said place.

The *Centurions* by the direction of their guid, changed  
 N n 2 both

both their armies and apparel, and went with their heads and feet bare, to the end that they might the better see about them, and climb with more steadinesse. Their swords as also their Targets (which according to the *Numidian* fashion were made of Leather, as well for their lightnes, as for that in their clashing together they made the least noise) were fastned at their backs. The *Ligurian* then climbing vp before the rest, tyed cords vnto such stones, and olde Moors or rootes, as hung out beyond the rest of the wall, that the souldiers taking holde thereon, might the more easily ascend: such as were fearefull thorough the strangenesse of the way, he holpe vp with his handes, and where the ascent was steepest, hee caused them to climbe vnarmed, himselfe following with their armor. Such places as to the eie seemed most dangerous, himselfe chieflie assailed; ascending, descending, and going forwards, encouraging the rest to follow. At length, but late and fore wearied, they became Maisters of the Castle, which on that side was left vnregarded, for that those of the castle, were then, as at other times employed in fight against their enemies.

*Marius* hauing by Messengers vnderstood what the *Ligurian* had done, albeit he had all that day entertained fight with the *Numidians*, yet then encouraging his souldiers, issued out from his defenses, and with Engines approached the Walles, threatening them also aloofe with slings, Artillery, and other Ordinance. But the *Numidians* hauing formerly broken downe and burnt the approaches of the *Romans*, contained not themselves within the wals of the Castle, but day and night passed to and fro on the outside thereof, rayling at the *Romans* and reproching *Marius* with cowardice; menacing our souldiers to make them bond-slaves vnto *Iugurth*, and by meanes of their good fortune grew fierce and insolent.

But now as the *Romans* and *Numidians* were in earnest conflict, each encountering other with great violence, these fighting for glory and Empire, they for their liues & safeties; the *Ligurian* on the sudden sounded an allarme at their backs, whereat, first ran away the women and children,

dren, that were placed to behold the battell; next, such as were nearest vnto the walles, and lastly the whole company, as well armed as disarmed, betook themselves to flight: The which so chancing, the *Romans* began to charge the more furiously; they slew and wounded diuers, and trampling on their dead bodies, enforced themselves to ascend the wall. Thus Fortune still fauoured the ouerweening rashnesse of *Marius*, & in his owne error, he found glory.

2 These passages thus depending, meane time *Lucius Silla* the *Questor* arriued in the Campe, with a great troop of Horse. He had beene left behinde in *Rome*, to raise an Army of Latines and Allies their confederates; But forso-much as we are now fallen into discourse of so renowned a man, it will not be amisse to treat somewhat of his Nature and condicions, for hence-forward we shall haue no occasion to speake of his actions: and *Lucius Sisenia*, who of all others that haue written of him, hath with greatest diligence, and most faith pursued the History, seemeth to me, not to haue spoken liberally and freely enough of his worthinesse.

*Scilla* then was nobly descended from the race of a *Patrician*, but his Gentry was almost extinct and worne out by the sloth of his auncestors. He was alike and excellently learned, both in Greeke and Latine; of a haughty courage, addicted to his pleasures, but more to glory: his vacant howers were spent in Luxury, yet pleasure neuer hindered his affayres: Only he might haue better aduised himselfe in the choice of a more honest wife. He was eloquent, subtil, sociable, and in dissembling or disguising his intents, the depth of his wit was incredible: He was liberal in gifts, chiefly of his money: and before the ciuill Conquest (albeit he was the most happie of all others) yet fortune neuer exceeded his industry, inso-much as many doubted, whether he was more vertuous or fortunate: But for his latter actions, I am vncertaine whether it wil more shame or grieue me to repeat them.

Then as is before said, when he came with his troope of horse into *Affricke*, and the campe of *Marius* (being before a Nouice and vnexperienced in the warres) in a short

sea-

season with fewe bickerings, became the most cunning & expert leader amongst the *Romans*. Moreover, he would kindly entreate his souldiers, giue liberally to such as demanded, as also voluntary to others: he could hardly bee drawne to take any thing; but more ready to returne it with recompence, then to pay a iust debt. He neuer redemanded any thing lent, but rather endeouored to haue as many as he could, remaine his debtors. His fashion was to discourse both pleasantly and seriously, with the basest and men of meanest ranke, and would very often bee amongst them in their labours, their marches, and their watchings, neither in the meane while (as lewd ambition is accustomed) would he with flanders wound the honor and reputation, either of the *Consull*, or any other. In direction or execution he suffred no man to go beyond him, but heerein himselfe excelled the most part: and by these meanes in a short space, hee became indeared both vnto *Marius* and the souldiers.

## CHAP. 30.

*Bocchus ioyneth with Iugurth, assaulteth Marius vpon the Sodaine, and is notwithstanding defeated.*

**B**Vt to returne where wee left, *Iugurth* hauing lost the Towne of *Capsa*, and other fortified places of importance, as also great store of Treasure; dispatched messengers vnto *Bocchus*, signifying that he should forthwith bring his forces into *Numidia*; That the season of the year summoned to field.

But hearing that the King made small hast, and stood doubtfull betweene the euents of peace and warre, once againe, as before, he corrupteth with presents the greatest and nearest persons about *Bocchus*: promising the King for his share, the third part of *Numidia*, if either the *Romans* were cleane expelled *Affricke*; or the warre compounded without diminution of his Patrimony.

*Bocchus* being caught with so golden a bait, cometh vnto *Iugurth* with a worlde of people. When ioyning both their armies (the tenth part of the day yet scarce remaining)

remaining) they charge *Marius*, as he iournied towardes his Winter stations: forecasting that the approach of the night, in case they were ouerthrowne, would stand them in great stead; but if they fortun'd to haue the better, it would proue to them no disadvantage, for that they were well acquainted with the waies: But contrarily, howeuer the world went, the darke night would proue very troublesome vnto the *Roman Army*.

No sooner had the *Consull* notice of the enemies approach, but the enemy was discovered to followe him at the heeles: And before the battaile could bee ranged, the luggage discharged and secured, the signall giuen, or any order taken; the Moorish and *Getulian* Horse-men had charged our people: not in order and warlike maner, but by troopes and scattering companies, at aduenture.

The souldiers at first, beeing thus taken vnprovid'd, stood amazed, but now calling to mind their wonted valour, did eyther betake them to their weapons, or defended others against the insulting enemy, whilst they ran to arme. The horsemen gat to horse, & did what they could to stay the enemies course. The fight rather resembled an incursion, then a battell. The footmen without Ensignes or rankes were mixt amongst the Horse; Some ran away, some were slaine, some making obstinate resistance were circumvented behinde, by the enemy: neither valour nor Steele could warrant life, the enemy pressed so fast on with inequality of numbers, and dispercion on all quarters. For remedy whereof, the old and new *Roman* souldiers instructing one another, had no other shift, then as place or chance directed them, to cast themselves into an Orbe, or circle; whereby being couered and prepared vpon all sides, they inabled themselves to sustaine the enemies fury.

At this hard bargain, *Marius* shewed no more token of a fearefull or dejected spirit, then at another season; but with his owne company, which he had culled (not out of his fauourites and familiars, but of choicest fellowes) hee scoureth vp and downe the field: sometimes releeuing his wearied people, sometimes charging in vpon the thickest troopes of his enemy: sometime giuing his aduice: for com-

*Quia ignari essent  
Locorum.*

*Hinc dignoscitur  
quanti momenti  
sit dux validus in  
exercitu.*

*s. manum, aut alio  
signo.*

command he could not in so generall a confusion.

The day by this time was well nigh spent, yet the barbarous people slackned nothing of their fury, but by the Kings perswasions, relying vpon the aduantages of the night, seemed to presse on with fresher courages.

But *Marius*, taking Counsel vpon necessity, commandeth his souldiers to retire vnto two hilles nearely adioyning. Vpon the one, hardly of sufficient capacity to pitch their Tents, was a large Fountaine of Water; the other was more aduantageous, by reason of his eminencie, and some naturall fortifications. Vpon that with the Water, he commaundeth *Silla* with the horsemen to keepe good watch all that night: himselfe by some and some, withdraweth his disperfed souldiers in troopes from amongst their enemies, in no lesse confusion, then themselves. This done, with a full march he retireth them al vnto the aforesaid hill.

The Kings being discouraged by the difficultie of the place, found likewise the retrait, and suffer not their souldiers to lodge far from the place, but enuironing the hils with multitudes, confusedly sette them downe. Then making many fires after their barbarous custome, all night long they begin to make merry, to daunce, and with their feet and voyces to stir vp strange noises. The kings themselves grew proud, either for that the *Romans* coule not put them to flight, or for that they accounted the victorie in sure possession. These passages by reason of the darknesse, and the eminency of the hil, were very discernable to the *Romans*, and gaue them no small encouragements to hope for victory.

For *Marius* being very confident, vpon the rawnesse of the enemy, giueth a strict command for keeping of silence all the night; so farre forth, as not to sound the trumpet according to custome, at the setting or relieuing of the watch. Then vpon the approach of the dawning (the Enemy being now weary, and not long before overtaken with sleepe) *Marius* willethe the Mercenary Trumpeters, and the Drummes of all the Cohorts, winges and Legions, vpon the sodaine to sound, as also the Souldiers violent-

*Qui in tenebris  
sunt, vident q. sit  
in luce, et non ipsi  
videntur.*

violently to rush out of the Ports of the campe, with the greatest clamor that they possibly could raise.

The *Moors* and *Getuli* being suddenly awaked with the vnkowne and terrible allarme, had neither stomach to fly, nor to fight, nor were able to resolute what to do, or what to preuent: insomuch as the whole rable stood astonished at the noise and clamor, as men frayed out of their wits, not one offering to relieue his fellow, although the *Romans* fiercely pressed in with tumult, terrour & slaughter. So the whole Army was quickly rowted and disperst; and much armour with many Ensignes taken: yea, more were slaine in this conflict, then in all the former battails. For they were so heauy asleepe, and stood amazed with such an vnsuall extrasic, that they had not so much memory left them, as to prouide for flight.

## CHAP. 31.

*A President for Commanders not to march carelesse, vpon any termes of security, in the Enemy-countrie.*

After this defeature, *Marius* (as hee had determined) iourneth towards his Winter stations, and for the conueniency of prouision, mindeth to billet his companies in the maritime Burroughs. And taking neuer the more ease, nor yet become forgetfull of his assayres, by reason of his late victory, marcheth in a square battell, as if he had bene in the face of his enemy.

Vpon the right hand *Silla* commanded ouer the horsemen; vpon the left, marched *A. Manlius* with the Slings, Archers, and the Cohorts of the *Lyguriens*. In front and Reare, he placed the Tribunes, with the readiest and light armed companies. The Fugitiues that best knew the cuntry, were employed to discouer the enemies march.

The Consul confined to no place, had an eie to all: was present with all: commended the valiant, and blamed the coward. Himselfe rode armed, & at all assayes he ordred the souldiers as he vsed to do in ordinary trauaile: he saw to the fortifying of the campe, and himselfe in person placed selected Cohorts out of the Legions to ward within the Ports: and without, the auxiliary horsemen.

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In the battails vpon the rampart he would appoint others, & himself go the round; not vpon diffidence that his commands intrusted to others, would be the insufficiency executed, but that the Souldier seeing his General to share in labor, might vndergo the like with more willing courage.

To speak vprightly, *Marius* both at this season, and at other times of his War, awed his army more by example, then by severity. Which some men attribute to Pride; others by extenuation excused him; *That beeing from his Cradle inured to hardnesse, hee tooke delight in that, which others accounted misery*: but howsoeuer, surely he discharged his duty with as great honour and glory to the state, as euer did the severest Commander of the state.

Vpon the fourth day, the light-mounted vantage-couriers of *Jugurth*, shew themselves in troops, not farre from the Towne *Cirtha*; An alarm is giuen, that the enemy is not far off. *Marius* sendeth out his Scouts; all agree, but differ vpon the side of approach. Whereupon the Consull being incertaine how to provide, without any alteration of his former imbatteling, being prepared for all adventures, resolueth in that place to receiue the enemy.

By this forme of fight, the hopes of *Jugurth* were vtterly frustrated; for by diuiding his battallion into four parts, he made an account, with one half to haue charged in the face, with the other halfe, equally diuided, to haue come vpon the backs of the *Romans*.

*Silla*, whom the enemy first attached, vsing some few words to his followers, taking certaine troops vnto him, with their Horses as close ranged as they possibly could, receiue the *Moors*; The residue standing fast in their places, couer their bodies from the enemies shot, & if any chance to fall within reach, they presently sleigh him.

VVhilst the Horsemen on this fashion charge, and are charged, *Bocchus* with the footmen (whom his Son *Volux* led, and were not at the last rout, for their delay vpon the way) inuadeth the rereward of the *Romans*.

At that instant *Marius* chanced to be in the head of the battaile, because *Jugurth* with a great company layd hard charge thereunto. The *Numidian* perceiuing that *Bocchus* had

had

had now charged in the reare, priuily retiring with some few horsemen vnto the footmen, crieth out in Latine (the Language he had learned at *Numantia*) that the *Romans resisted in vaine*; and that but euen now with his own hands he had slaine the Consul: And therewithall lifted vpp his sword, as yet reeking in blood, which in truth by the slaughter of one of our footmen with sufficient prooffe of valiancy, he had so stained in fight. The *Romans* receiuing the word, were more astonished at the cruelty of the fact, then the relation of the reporter: and the *Barbarians* doubling their courages, gaue in more lustily to augment the terror. Now stood the footmen wauering, when *Silla* (returning from the flight of those whom he first charged) chargeth in vpon the flank of the *Moors*. *Bocchus* forthwith turneth taile: but *Jugurth* performing all the parts of a valiant captain in relieuing his distressed followers, by all means laboureth to retaine the aduantage of a victory almost gained; vntill such time, as beeing incircled in the thickest of the horsemen, & his followers on each hand slaine, he himselfe made his escape through the weapons of his enemies. By this time *Marius* likewise hauing routed the horsemen, runneth to the aide of his people, but by the way receiue newes of their flight. Thus was the enemy vtterly broken, & a most hideous spectacle presented through the whole field. Some pursued, some fled, some were slaine, some taken: horse & men lay promiscuously mingled in one another's gore: Many being wounded could neither fly, nor procure helpe: now they strided, presently they fell down and fainted. Surely, as far as sight could view, the field was couered with weapons, armours, & carcases: the Earth, with blood.

#### CHAP. 32.

*Bocchus relenteth, harkeneth to peace, and againe warreth.*

BY this time the Consull being in full possession of victory, arriueth at *Cirtha*, the place of his first determined progres. The 5. day after, his second & vnfortunat fight of the *Barbarians*, Embassadors are hether dispatched from *Bocchus*: who in the king their masters name

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desire of

*Quam necessariū sit rebus bellicis intentos, Historias legere, hinc apparet: nam vnius voce mendacis, parū abfuerit quin qui victores erant, vincerentur*

*Graphica descriptio Belli, Jugæ cedis*

of the Generall, that he would vouchsafe to send ouer vnto him two most sufficient Cōmissioners, to treat of those Articles which should concerne their mutuall safety, and welfare. The Generall forthwith commandeth *L. Silla* and *Aulus Manlius* to prepare for the iourney.

These Gentlemen, though they came before his presence by a message, yet they deemed it their fittest course, first to offer parle; vpon interition, that if they found his disposition addicted vnto further hazard, they might take occasion, to lenifie his courage; but if desirous of peace, that then they might proceede, to confirme it with seruencie. Whereupon *Silla* (vnto whose perswasue eloquence, not to age, nor due of precedence, *Manlius* submitted) thus began a short Oration.

## Sillas Oration.

**N**oble King *Bocchus*, the comfort that we haue taken, to see so worthy a personage, no doubt (not without the speciall direction of heauen) nowe at last, not onely to make choise of peace, rather then War; but also to free himself from the protection of *Iugurth*, of all men liuing the worst, & most miserable: hath in no small measure bin pleasing vnto vs. For heerby thou hast vtterly bereaued vs of an inenitable necessity, as seuerely to chastise thy errors, as his Treason & disloyaltie.

Noble Lord, even in the infancie of the Roman state, being as then but weake and obscure, our Forefathers made choise to acquire friends, rather then to subdue slanes, holding it a principle in policie, that greater benefittes accrued from free will, then from forced subiection.

Our fauours can proue to no mortall creature more available, then to your selfe: first, for that wee are farre remote: wherein consisteth least opportunity of offence: and yet in our boundie may become as indifferent, as if wee were nearest neighbours.

Secondly, for that we abound in<sup>r</sup> Subiects: And yet I must confesse, that neither wee, nor any man liuing, can boast to haue found more friends then he needed.

a Et ideo audiri,  
quid ipse vellet

b Vnde regem at-  
tentum faciat, cum  
admonet quanti  
periculi sit cum ha-  
mine sapius victo  
commiseri.

d Nullum violentum duntaxat.

e Vix Carthagini-  
ses, Macedones, &  
alii.

c q. d. deceptū ab eo

e Qui enim longe  
abjunt oneribus &  
exactionibus Carie  
minui grauantur.

I would to God your Maiesly had apprehended this in the beginning: then surely by his time, you had not failed to haue reaped farre more pleasures from the Roman people, then hitherto you haue suffered damages.

But because Fortune sitteth Lady Regent of all humane proiects, whose fancy forsooth it hath beene, that you shoulde make tryall aswell of our force, as of our fauour: Now, for that she hath offered the meanes, I beseech you, make hast to embrace it, and giue not ouer, to perfect these your good ouertures.

In your power consist many kind offices, by which to good purpose you may redeeme all fore-past misprisions.

Lastly, closet vp this my counsell with deepest confidence, That the Roman people were neuer ouer-balanced in remuneration of thankfull seruices: what their valour is in war, your selfe can make best report.

## The answer of Bocchus.

**H**erevnto *Bocchus* in extenuation of his ouersights maketh a short, but a plaulible reply: That hee made choise of Armes, not vpon any fancy that might moue him to make triall of warre, but only to secure the kingdome, which now after the expulsion of *Iugurth*, being by the law of conquest diuolued vnto him, he could not brooke to see harried by *Marius*. Secondly, he complained of the disgrace, and refusall of his friendship, offered vnto the Romans in former time, by his Ambassadors. But hee was content, now to silence olde grieuances, and promised againe to send his people in embassie to Rome, so it might stand with *Marius* his good liking.

Whereupon, leaue being granted, the mind of the *Barbarian* became againe distated, by the mediation of those his followers, whom *Iugurth*, vpon intelligence of the embassie of *Silla* and *Manlius*, and distrust of thar, which in truth was intended, had already corrupted by guiftes and bribery.

## CHAP. 33.

*Bocchus* once againe sendeth Ambassadors to *Marius*. 2. Flow intertained by *Silla*. 3. Sent to Rome, & there answered.

Ad gratiam populi Ro: inuendit.

Et tacite inuit, quoddam postea petitus est, ut Iugurtham tradat.

i Rhetorice in fine promittit, & minatur.

b Tacite etiam inuitat per amicitiam, sicut etiam ab amicitia promissum multa: scilicet in gratiam Iugurthe

k Intelligendū est, quod antiquas, Iugurtha illi fidei sciam daret, motū fuisse ut de con- fultu regis & partem a Boccho inuasem, illi pro dote ab Iugurtha concessam, propter Bellum quod a Romanis metuebat

Is animum Bocchi a bello diuertere

BY this time *Marius* hauing quartered his souldiers in their Winter Garrisons, with part of his hotsemen, and lightest Cohorts, he taketh his iourney towards the wilderness, there to besiege the Kings Tower, in safegard whereof, *Iugurth* hath thrust in al the renegado fugitiues.

1 When againe, *Bocchus* either vpon mature deliberation of what he had suffered at the handes of the *Romans* in two pitcht batailes; or counsellled by others of his friends, whose seruices were not obliged to the pensions of *Iugurth*, resolueth, out of the choise of variety, amongst al his kinsmen, to nominate five, vpon whose assured fidelity and tried wisdom, hee durst aduenture to repose his utmost confidence.

These he dispatcheth to *Marius*, and from him, if he so please, hee commaundeth to passe for *Rome*: with ample authority to compound all controuersies; so vpon any tearmes, to put an end to the war; with exquisite diligence they take their way towards the wintering places of the *Romans*: but being beset & robbed in their iourney by certaine *Getulian* Outlawes, in fear and base estate, they make their repaire before *Silla*, whom *Marius* the Consull (being vpon seruice) had left for his Lieutenant.

2 According to desert, *Silla* entertaineth them as giddy headed fellowes, and enemies; but withall, did bountifullly supply their hard misfortunes. In regard whereof, the *Barbarians* quite changed their pristinate conceites of the *Roman* Auarice, & that more is, accounted *Silla*, for his bounteous clemency, their especiall good Patron. For in these times few men knew what pensions meant: no man was deemed bountifull, vnlesse it proceeded from meere good-wil. All giftes weret accepted as remembraunces of loue and kindnesse.

This done, they make relation of their Imbassie to *Silla*, and first beseech him in the businesse to stand their good friend and Counsellour. Then they fall into speech vpon the strength, the integrity, and the maiesty of their Maister, not omitting any title, that might either prooue aduantageous to the capitulation, or moue good liking in the Lieutenant.

*Silla*

*Silla* made no scruple to satisfie their desires, and after he had giuen them instructions how they shuld cary their affaires before *Marius*, and how, before the Lordes of the Senat, he stayed them there about the space of forty daies.

3 *Marius*, without speeding in his entended enterprise, returned to *Cirtha*: where hauing intelligence of the arrivall of the Embassadors, he commaundeth both them and *Silla*, to dislodge from *Vtica*, and to repaire vnto *Cirtha*. The like commaundement is directed vnto *L. Bilienus* the *Prætor*, and the residue of the Nobility. In presence of whom he giueth audience to the *Moorish* Embassadors, & withall, his passe for their iourney to *Rome*. During the time of which their absence, they intreat the Consull for a surcease from armes.

These passages were well approued by *Silla*, and some others: a few were of a more seuer opinion; little (God knowes) experimented in human affaires, which beeing alwaies casuall and vncertaine, for the most part are counterchanged from better to worse.

All which their petitions being granted, three of them take their iourney towards *Rome*, in the company of *C. Octavius Rufus*, the Treasurer at Warres in *Affrick*. The other two returne backe to the King, who seemed very well to like of the behaviour of the Consull, but especially of the curtesie and affection of *Silla*.

At *Rome* after the Legates had submissiuely confessed the errours of their maister, as induced thereunto by the insinuation of *Iugurth*; the conclusion of their speech was knit vp, with a desire to be receiued into the *Roman* alliance: Vnto whome it was thus answered; That the *Romans* could as well remember to requite curtesies, as to reuenge wrongs: That the King, because hee shewed himselfe sorrowfull for his fautes, was receiued into grace: As for friendship and alliance, they were to be vouchsafed onely vpon merit.

Chap. 34.

Ex omni parte ubi  
hiberna egerint.

Sen. si miserum vi-  
deris, hominē scias.



## CHAP: 34.

1. Silla is sent by Marius to capitulate with Bocchus. 2. Is in honour met upon the way by Volux, and by him accompanied to his Fathers Court, not without great mistrust of disloyalty.

Of which determinations Bocchus hauing receiued intelligence, by Letters hee requesteth Marius, to send Silla vnto him: with whom he meant to treat a finall composition of all difficulties.

Silla is sent, guarded with a regiment of horse and foot, accompanied with their Slingers and Enginers. In like manner the Archers and the Italian Cohort, with theyr lightest Arms, for speed sake, were commanded to march. And the reason, why they iournied, armed at no stronger prooue in their enemies country, was, for that the weapons of the Barbarians were light and voydable.

2 The fift day of the iourney, Volux the son of Bocchus, vpon the suddaine sheweth himselfe in the open felde, with a troope at most of one thousand horse: who riding vpon the spurre, and out of order to salute Silla, at first seemed vnto him and the residue, to be more in number, as also to represent a kind of warlike distrust.

Whereupon, euery man began to fall into ranke, to put on his Armour, to draw his Weapon, and to expect the enemy. The feare was indifferent; their hopes better resolu'd (as befalleth victours) & especially, because the fight was to be mannaged against those whome they had formerly so often vanquished.

But the horsemen being sent out to discouer, brought word of the truth, and so all things were quieted.

Volux approaching, calleth vnto the Quester, and certifieth him, that his father had sent him both to honour & assist him in his iourney. So that day and the next, they both marched in one troope without distrust.

But after they had pitched their Tents, and the day began now to close; the Moore all fearefull, with his colour going and comming, runneth towards Silla, and reporteth

teth, that he is ascertained by his Discouersers, that Jugurth approached: And therefore intreateth; yea, and importunateth him secretly in the dead of the night to make shift for himselfe by speedy flight.

Silla all enraged, aduowed that hee nothing feared the Numidian, whom hee had so often heretofore rowted: That his resolution was settled vpon the valour of his people: yea, if assured destruction lay before his face, That hee would abide by it, rather then betray the liues of so many souldiers committed vnto his conduct by a base and vntrue flight; to make spare of that fraile carcasse, which peradventure by casualty of sicknes, might soone afterwarde miscarry. But withall, followeth his Counsell to dislodge by night: and thereupon, commaundeth the army forthwith to fall to Supper, to fill the Campe with fires, and at the first watch without noise or tumult to make ready to march.

Now both Silla, and his troopes, beeing thoroughly wearied by this nights iourney, with the rising of the sun pitcheth his Tents: when as the Moorish vnt-curers bring worde to the Campe, that Jugurth hath taken vp his lodgings scarce one league before the. Which news were: no sooner divulged, but an vnvsuall feare attached the whol body of our army; mistrusting that they had bin betrayed by Volux, and brought into ambush by his treachery: yea, there were some that aduowed, that Death was his meed; and that so manifest and notorious a Treason ought not to be suffered to escape vnpunished.

Although Silla in secret did iumpe in Opinion, yet gaue he commandement that no man should be so hardie as to wrong the Moore: but encourageth his people to cary a valiant conceit of the yssue. Putting them in mind, That a few couragious souldiers haue heretofore happily encountred a tumultuary multitude, and that not seldome. The lesse spare any man made of his carcasse, the better he sped. That it be seemed not the armed hand to expect safety from the unarmed foot, by turning the naked bodie at all adventures through rash fear from the face of the enemy.

Then calling vpon Iupiter Max. to be a witnesse of the falshood and treachery of Bocchus, he commaundeth Volux

Pp

ut hostes ex his  
marce ens uigilias  
agere, et post de-  
cessum uisum ueni-  
bus adhuc illic esse

bi abiecti armis  
enim perspicui quod  
se precipites,  
deus facinus fugi-  
entes.

et fidelitatis  
hospitatus  
conseruatore.

as

S. Silla.

as an enemy to depart the campe. The yong Gentleman with teares in his eyes, beseecheth the Generall not to give eare to such enuious reportes: protesteth, that nothing was fraudulently contriued: but rather, that he should perswade himselfe, that all proceeded from the subtilty of Iugurth, by whose warie watchfulnesse the course of his iourney was discovered. And the rather, for that he had neither forces sufficient, and all his welfare depended vpon his good carriage towards his father. More, that he would be fully possessed, that Iugurth durst not enterprize any open hostility against the Army, as long as hee his sonne was present as a witnes of the outrage.

And therefore to amoue all mistrust, he supposed it the best course, to passe in open sight through the middest of Iugurths campe; leauing it to the choise of the Generall whether he will place his Moores in front or in reare: hee himselfe is content without comfort, to submit himselfe to Sillaes sole dispose.

The course proposed (as happeneth in like cases) is allowed: and the army forthwith moueth: The suddenness of the accident stroke Iugurth to his wits end, and so they passed in safety; within few daies after they arriued at theyr intended Rende-vow.

## CHAP. 35.

*The irresolution of a barbarous enemy. Iugurth betrayed, & deliuered captiue to Silla.*

At that time there liued in the Court of Bocchus, a certaine Numidian called Aspar, a man in very gracious acceptance with his Maiesty, whom Iugurth (hearing of the sending for of Silla to Court) had imployed as an Ambassadour, closely and cunningly to obserue what passed in counsell. To him was adioyned Dabar, the sonne of Massugrada, a kinsman of Massinissas, but not by the mother. For his mother was begotten on a Concubine. This man for his many good seruices, was in high fauour with Bocchus: and for the experience of his former fidelity, now made choice of to be forthwith sent vnto Silla,

Bocchus.

la, to make demonstration, on his maisters behalfe; That Bocchus was ready to performe whatsoeuer the Roman people should command him. That Silla should nominate the day, the place, and time for conference: That hee would hold good correspondency vpon all occasions. That he needed not to take any exceptions against the Ambassadour of Iugurth, for that he had bin purposely sent for, the better to compound their common Controuersies. For otherwise (he gaue out) that hee could not prevent the traines of Iugurth.

But I am of Opinion, that with more then a Punique disloyalty, Bocchus entertained the treaty, both with the Romans and the Numidian for other respectes, then those which he publickely pretended. For it did much perplex his mind, whether he shuld deliuer Iugurth to the Romans, or Silla to Iugurth. Hatred to vs-ward was a potent enemy; Feare our friend.

Whereupon Silla replied, that he would speak to some few points in the presence of Aspar; the residue priuately, or at least-wise not in the hearing of many. Likewise he maketh report, what answere he expected.

At their next meeting, being at Sillas own apointment, He saith, That being sent from Marius the Confull, hee was arriued in these parts to be ascertained from the Kings owne mouth, whether he were desirous of peace or war.

Whereunto the king (as he had bin aduised) made no other reply, but commanded him to make his appearance the tenth day after. That as yet he had not consulted with his Counsell: but vpon that day he would not faile to resolve him. So each party retired to their Pauilions.

About midnight, Silla is secretly sent for by Bocchus: Faithfull trucemen are imployed on both sides, And Dabar the intercourour, a very honest Gentleman (worne to both their good likings. Which ceremonies performed, the King thus began his Oration.

Bocchus his Oration.

**M**y mind neuer gaue me, that I in this world so powerful a Prince, (as of all men to my knowledge the most potent,) should at any time haue stood beholding to

Pp 2

i. Coram Aspare.

Per hoc consilium  
spei paces datur  
Iugurthe, & oc-  
ciso Silla Bocchus de  
rebus suis confu-  
lendis.

a priuate Gentleman. For in the word of a Prince, before I knew thee (O Silla) I haue to some vpon intreaty; vnto others voluntarily, extended supplies; and neuer againe implored the assistance of any.

That the worlde is now changed, whereas Others grieue, I reioyce. The gaine of thy acquaintance, hath with surplussage recompensed my losses: then the which my very soule accounteth nothing more indeared. Heereof make triall: Aske Arms, men, or money; yea, whatsoeuer thy fancy can affect, take it, vse it. During thy life, neuer thinke but I will alwaies reckon my selfe thy debtor: in which account I will perseuer faithfull to the end. In a word, I will deny thee nothing that to my knowledge may pleasure thee. For my mind assureth me, that it is lesse dishonourable for a King to bee ouercome by Armes, then by Bountie.

As concerning the businesse of your Common-wealth, whose Procurator you are, take this in brieft.

War against the Roman people I neither leuied, nor suffered others to leuie: I onelie opposed force against force. But I wil cease to beat vpon that straine, because such is your pleasures: At your choise be it, what wars you thinke good to undertake against Iugurth: I will not passe the River Mulucha, (the bounder betweene me & Iugurth) neither wil I suffer Iugurth to passe beyond it. If you can thinke vpon anie thing besides, besitting your Honours and mine, spare not to speake: you shal not depart with repulse.

Silla made answer: for his particular, briefly & modestly: for the Peace and the Generall, he argued copiously. And at last he made it known to the King, that the Senate and people of Rome could not take it in good part, to be offered barely that, which by their superiority in Arms, they alone were able to accomplish: Somewhat else was to be performed, which might produce liuelier arguments that he affected the Roman welfare, more then his priuate respects; considering the meanes were not farre to seeke, as long as Iugurth was at his dispose: whom if hee would surrender, then should the Romaine people infinitely account themselves bounde vnto him. This good seruice would procure friendship, & alliance, yea and that part of

Numidia

s. se discedere ab  
armis, cum victus  
esset & rebus Iu-  
gurtha dissideret.

Nam quid ab ar-  
mis disisset, plus  
esset ad utilitatem  
Bochi iam pene-  
rillis, quam Ro-  
manorum.

Numidia which he now requested, would then come voluntarily offered vnto him. At first the King denied, pleaded affinity, consanguinity, and lastly the breach of his league. Then pretended he feare, least by the falsifying of his faith, hee shoulde diuert the loue of his people, vnto whom Iugurth was very gracious, the Romans hatefull: Being ouer-wrought by importunacy, hee yeeldeth, and promisseth to dispatch businesses, according to the counsell of Silla. And so concluding vpon all thinges to serue their owne turnes, they proceed to a counterfeit peace, whereof the Numidian (being weary of the warre) was most desirous. The plot thus layd, they take their leaues.

The day following, the king calleth for Asper, and willet him to shew his maister, that Dabar had leained from Silla, that the warre might be compounded vpon certaine conditions: And that withall he should prouide to return an answer of his mind.

Asper gladly taketh his journey towards the Campe of Iugurth: where being fully instructed of his maisters determinations, by poast at eight daies he returneth to Bocchus: and declareth, that Iugurth is ready to performe all commands, sauing that hee durst not safely trust Marius. For (saith he) I haue often made triall, that peace concluded with the Roman Generals, hath bin of no validity: But, if Bocchus desired to procure an assured and profitable peace for both their best securities, that then he should do his endeavour, to appoint a generall assembly vnder the pretext of peace, and there deliuer Silla into his power. Vhen he had such a personage at his dispose, then might hee stande assured, that by speciall commandement from the Senate and Roman people, the league would be solemnly ratified: Neyther would they suffer a man of his quality (not captiuated by his owne default, but in seruice of the State) to lie in durance vnder the enemies imprisonment.

The Moore stood long perplexed, but at last consented, whether in shew, or earnest, we could neuer learne certainly: but for the most part, as the determinations of kings are foddaine, so are they variable; yea many times repugnant.

After

After this, at the appointed time and place, vnder the colour of conference, *Bocchus* sometime sendeth for *Silla*, sometime for the Ambassadour of *Iugurth*. Hee sheweth himselfe alike gracious, and maketh to both one self-same promise; whereupon being full of hope, both of them depart with like satisfaction.

But the night preceeding, the day appointed for conference, the *Moore* sent for his friends, and presently changing his mind, dismissing them all, is reported to haue bin infinitely disquieted in spirit. His countenance, his complexion, his bodily motion, and his very senses were maruelously distracted; which his onely carriage, euen in his deepest silence, did bewray in manner of speech, the verie secrets of his hart.

Lastly, he sendeth for *Silla*, and by his direction layeth the plot to intrap *Iugurth*. The time being come, and hee ascertained that *Iugurth* approached, as it were for honors sake, accompanied with a few of his friends and the *Questor*, he goeth to meet him, and ascendeth an easie Hillock scituated to open viewe of an ambush: Thither likewise *Iugurth* with some fewe of his followers vnarmed (according to agreement) aduanced: where he was no sooner arriued, but the ambush breaking out on all sides, attach him: His companions are al cut in pieces, himself in bonds is deliuered to *Silla*; and by him conducted to *Marius*.

About the same time, our Leaders, *Q. Cepio*, & *C. Manlius* fought vnfortunately against the *Galles*. With the terror whereof al *Italie* stood amazed. So that both they & al the Roman posterity, euen vnto our daies, made this account: That all other enterprizes were possible to the Roman vertue; with the *Galles* only they contended for safety, not for glory.

But after the newes came, that the warre of *Numidia* was ended, and *Iugurth* approached to *Rome*, wardes in chaines, *Marius* (though absent) was ratified Consul, & *Gallia* allotted him for his prouinee. Vpon the Calendes of Ianuary (being Consul) he performed his Triumph with admirable glory. From that time, the hope and prosperity of the City wholly relyed vpon him.

*FINIS.*

### *Errata.*

Fol. 2. for coyance, read ioyance. fol. 3. for were to be bestowed, read were not, ibid. for context, read center. fol. 5. for vnfatigable, read vnfatiable. fol. 13. for loyalties, read disloyalties. fol. 20. for distresse, read distrust. fol. 28. for, of bad the best was left him which was, read, of badde the best which was left him, was to, &c. for games, read gaines. fol. 44. for inforced, read inforcing. fol. 51 for euill doers seperated, read euill doers are seperated. fol. 59, for insufficiencies, read sufficiencies.

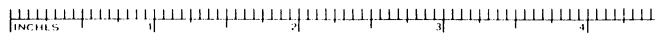
*Bellum Iug.*

Fol. 13. in any kingdome, read my kingdome. fol. 15, for bordereth *Mauricania*, read vpon *Mauritania*. fol. 22, from them to passe, read, from thence to passe. fol. 35, for which the information concerned, read whom the information concerned. fol. 37, for in euery sharpe season, read in a very sharp season. fol. 38. for beseech, read besiege. fol. 59, for constrained, read accustomed. fol. eod, for perceiued read perceiuing. fol. 61, for with them others, read with them and others. fol. eod, for furnished, read vnfurnished. fol. 62. for from one to another, read from one degree to another. fol. 63 for direct, read diuert. fol. 66, for obserued, read obseruing. fol. 71, for with baggage, read with no baggage. fol. 73, for pallace, read place. fol. 85, for, or bands of succor, read with bands of succor. fol. 91, for the *Ligurian*, vnto whom, read, the *Ligurian* whom.

*Cetera, et in annotationibus marginalibus, Typographi esse credas*

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